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JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON  
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## AN APPRECIATION

In the death of Dr. Jameson, American historical scholarship has lost its leading exponent. A man with an outward appearance of New England austerity, he possessed a most kindly, human soul. This innate characteristic combined with a natural tendency toward historical studies permitted him to cultivate this field in the marvelous fashion which resulted in his extensive contribution to American historical writing. Trained at Johns Hopkins University in its celebrated seminar which produced other noted historians, he followed the teaching profession in Johns Hopkins, Brown, and Chicago. Not a few of the second generation of scientific historians had their scholastic training under him. His writing, however, never resulted in the production of many ponderous tomes, for he was ever too busy guiding the historical activities of others.

Dr. Jameson is best known for his work in the editorial field. When he became director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he enlarged and effectively carried out the program of preparing guides to the materials for American history deposited in various foreign archives. To treat the subject in each archive, he selected scholars who prepared under his efficient direction a most extensive and useful series of volumes on

archival materials. He also supervised the preparation and publication of numerous collections of documents and an historical atlas. He was the first editor of the *American Historical Review* and occupied the position for twenty-nine years. Of him it may be said that he made that *Review* and set a standard of the highest type for historical publications in the United States. The character and scholarly tone which he gave to the *Review* will long endure as a monument to his genius.

More than any other man in the historical profession he urged the establishment of a national archive where the records, documents, and papers relating to the history of our country could be adequately cared for and be made available for the use of scholars. His contribution to the movement for the establishment of The National Archives merits the highest praise and will ever be gratefully remembered by those who have occasion to utilize the vast collection of sources being assembled in that institution. His last years were spent as chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, where, by his tact, wide knowledge, and industry, he largely augmented the resources of that Division and made it a mecca for historical students from all parts of the country.

The active life of Dr. Jameson spanned more than fifty years of the existence of the American Historical Association. In that organization he became well known to all of the older historians. While many of the younger generation never knew him personally, all are able to appreciate his breadth of vision and catholic interest in everything pertaining to history and historical writing. To him above all others THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is indebted for his encouragement at its beginning and his constant interest and helpfulness.

The world of historical scholarship has been vastly enriched by the labors of Dr. Jameson. The close of his career leaves to the present generation the task of maintaining the rich heritage he has given.

ROSCOE R. HILL.



## THE INITIATION OF THE CUSTOMS RECEIVERSHIP IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Conditions in the Dominican Republic—a small Afro-Hispanic nation with a population of some seven or eight hundred thousand, an area of less than twenty thousand square miles, a turbulent political record, and a debt of between thirty and forty million dollars—furnished the occasion not only for intervention by the United States but also for the promulgation of a new phase of the Monroe Doctrine. The immediate background of these two events and the motives of the chief actor are subjects which have not been thoroughly investigated.

Human motives are difficult to determine, and perhaps the motives which actuated Theodore Roosevelt, who was then occupying the White House, in the Dominican affair will never be known with scientific precision. Nevertheless, the topic is intriguing, and most of the influences brought to bear upon him in connection with the problem can be discovered.

An examination of the historical evidence reveals the following list of possible motives for his action: (1) fear of European intervention of a more or less permanent nature in the Dominican Republic; (2) the desire to protect the lives and to promote as well as protect the economic interests of citizens of the United States; (3) willingness to gratify certain expansionist impulses; and (4) a disposition to give aid to the inhabitants of the Dominican Republic, many of whom desired, or were supposed to desire, the assistance of the United States. But it is not easy to select from this list the motives that were most influential in determining Roosevelt's conduct. He was exposed to all of them, but it is not possible to ascertain which of the four made the deepest impression. In examining the evidence it is important to keep three dates

in mind. On December 28, 1904, the diplomatic agents of the United States were authorized to begin negotiations looking toward intervention; on February 7, 1905, the first protocol was signed; and on April 1, 1905, the Dominican customs receivership was initiated.

## I

Citizens with investments in the Dominican Republic as well as some who had no immediate economic stake involved—the vested interests and the civilian and military expansionists—urged the Roosevelt administration to adopt a more aggressive policy. Many of their appeals are filed in the State Department. The following are presented as typical:

On January 23, 1904, Hugh Kelly and Company of New York, made a direct appeal to Roosevelt. They said that citizens of the United States had valuable investments in the Dominican Republic, investments of "vast economic importance to the welfare of Santo Domingo itself". But these interests were "at the mercy of hordes of untrained and unintelligent mobs led by opposing political leaders, each struggling, not for the good of the country, but for personal political supremacy". These mobs were "likely at any moment to commit outrage upon person and property". Moreover, a blockade of the ports of the republic had been proclaimed at the very moment when the Americans there were harvesting their sugar. Inability to move their product promptly would be ruinous. The company begged Roosevelt "to exert all the influence and authority" of his "exalted office" and to "Cubaize" the Dominican Republic as speedily as possible.<sup>1</sup>

Hammond Kennedy, attorney of Hugh Kelly and Company as well as of Bartram Brothers, who likewise were owners of Dominican sugar plantations, urged John Hay repeatedly to use his good offices to prevent the government of

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the State Department of the United States, Miscellaneous Letters. Unless otherwise indicated, all the correspondence cited in the first section of this article will be found in this miscellaneous chronological file of the state department.



the island republic from reimposing an export duty on sugar, which had been abolished for a period of twenty-five years in consideration of a cash sum paid one of the ephemeral rulers by the sugar planters. Meantime these companies were refusing to pay the duty.<sup>2</sup>

On January 2, 1904, A. F. Suárez, writing from the office of the Central Ansonia Sugar Company at 81 Wall Street, sent in an urgent plea for intervention to Secretary John Hay. Insurgents were running riot at Azua, where many American plantations covered with ripening sugarcane were located. The crop of the Central Ansonia alone was worth a quarter of a million. "Surely, Mr. Secretary, surely it cannot be the purpose of the United States to abandon its citizens and their interests much longer to such a condition as exists in Santo Domingo!"

On March 5, April 12, and July 11, 1904, J. L. Robertson, who stated that he had "large property interests in Santo Domingo", offered his advice to the state department. He urged that the United States government should prevent the shipment of arms to insurgents and serve notice that it would not allow any more revolutions to occur in the country. He thought that these steps would insure lasting peace without the "landing of a marine or soldier on the Island". Apparently, however, he was in favor of the United States taking any other measures that might be necessary in order to furnish complete security to the investments of American citizens in the Dominican Republic. In his letter of July 11 to Assistant Secretary Francis B. Loomis he said quite frankly:

I wish to know if, in your opinion, the time has arrived when American capital can, with reasonable assurance of protection, be justified in embarking in the development of the natural resources of Santo Domingo.

W. L. Bass, whose offices were at 90 to 96 Wall Street and who owned the largest sugar plantations in the Dominican Re-

<sup>2</sup> See his letters of May 27, November 10, and December 13, 1904, and January 18, 1905.

public, repeatedly urged intervention. On December 12, 1903, he wrote the minister of the United States, William F. Powell, as follows:

Now is the moment to locate at least three men-of-war on the coast and announce to the contending factions that, although there is no Platt amendment [limiting the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic], upon the first promiscuous use of firearms order will be maintained by foreign force . . . and modern industries must be allowed to continue to operate and life and property respected.<sup>3</sup>

In subsequent letters Bass complained that the Dominican authorities were unfriendly to the nationals of the United States, and hinted that these authorities were pro-German, dictatorial, and cruel. He also contended that mere control of the customs by the United States was not sufficient. Intervention in the internal affairs of the republic was also advisable in order that salutary restraint might be exercised on the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government.<sup>4</sup>

Citizens of the United States also had investments in transportation enterprises, which they asked the home government to protect. On February 10 and 17, John Bassett Moore, representing the Central Dominican Railroad Company of New Jersey, requested the state department to defend the property of his clients. He said that the revolutionists had not only forced the suspension of traffic but that they were removing ties, bolts, and nuts from the tracks. On July 9, 1904, and December 27, 1905, G. R. Radford, president of the Santo Domingo Southern Railway Company, with offices in Philadelphia, asked his government for aid and protection. On February 15 and December 16, 1904, William P. Clyde of

<sup>3</sup> This letter, the original of which is located in the miscellaneous file, was printed in the pamphlet prepared by Francis B. Loomis for the confidential information of the state department staff. The pamphlet, which bears the date of March 19, 1904, is entitled: *Memorandum for the Secretary of State on the Dominican Republic*. It consists of 34 pages and is unsigned, but numerous allusions in the correspondence of the period leave no doubt of its authorship. The pamphlet will be referred to hereafter as *Loomis Memorandum*.

<sup>4</sup> See Bass's letters of May 17 and June 7, 1904, and January 9, 19, and 24, 1906.



the Clyde Steamship Company requested the state department to furnish him assistance in entering the ports of the Dominican Republic and to prevent the authorities of the republic from nullifying his contract. He said that in 1895 he had obtained privileges which secured "to the United States a practical control of the trade with Santo Domingo". He feared that his special concession might be taken away from him and "sold for cash to the Hamburg-American or some other steamship company".

On December 30, 1904, E. A. de Lima, president of the Battery Park National Bank of New York and the son of a Dominican father, urged the United States to confer peace and stability upon the insular republic. He had investments there and was in contact with its principal merchants. His father had participated in some of the negotiations of the Grant period when an attempt was made to annex the country to the United States.

The letters sent to the Roosevelt government by civilian expansionists with no obvious economic interests involved were comparatively few. Perhaps it is safe to assume, however, that the impulses of 1898 had not entirely vanished. The three letters whose analysis immediately follows suggest that the sentimental basis of imperialism continued to be cherished by some of Roosevelt's constituents.

On March 12, 1904, Roderick Smith of Buffalo, New York, sent the president these rather startling suggestions outlining a policy embracing five steps:

*First Step.*—Obtain a request from the Government of San Domingo, if any exists, or from its citizens, to be held in trust by the United States pending the rehabilitation and proper ordering of its government.

*Second Step.*—Present this request to Congress and advise its acceptance.

*Third Step.*—When Congress accepts the Trusteeship, appoint a governor of San Domingo . . . and give him a staff of practical young men who have the brains to work out this plan.

*Fourth Step.*—Go ahead with the job, get up a new constitution

if necessary, adjust and fund the debt, fix the currency (American money perhaps can be put in), fix the tariff, see that the customs are honestly collected and accounted for, look after the internal revenue, the Post Office Department, the guards, the police. . . . In short, . . . set up a first class little republic, or as good [a government] . . . as the present development of that people will admit. . . . The American Flag officially to be flown on the same staff over the Dominican Flag during the period of Trusteeship.

*Fifth Step.*—When this is all done and working nicely, take down the American Flag, say farewell, and sail away. Leave these people to ripen, we can use them later on. . . . We pick no fruit, however, until it is ripe; to do otherwise might give us political cholera.

This plan of Smith's was clearly intended for other Hispanic American republics as well as the one under consideration. He meant to start as many of them as possible on the road to ultimate annexation. On January 18, 1906, writing Roosevelt with reference to the Dominican treaty then before the senate, he remarked:

The plan . . . —hold it in trust, fix it up, let it go—is a great one and can be applied to any . . . of the twenty Republics of the Western Hemisphere as fast as they get into trouble. If adopted we will make trade out of it and fortify the Monroe Doctrine at the same time.

He was probably a young enthusiast.

Dewitt Clinton Chipman's letter to President Roosevelt of June 30, 1904, revealed that visions of a grand rôle for his nation could warm the heart of an old man as well. He wrote from Anderson, Indiana, but he was a native of New York and an ardent supporter of Roosevelt. He declared that he was not in search of any office; he had already held many posts: mayor, prosecuting attorney, judge—all that he wanted. Abraham Lincoln himself had appointed him collector of internal revenue. He was not seeking personal favors. He had something vastly more important in mind. He desired to urge the great president to unite a continent of republics and guarantee liberty to half the globe! Said he:



What I wish to suggest, and what you can accomplish, is to unite all the governments on the American continent, and the isles of the adjacent seas, into one grand *confederacy of Republics*, and declare that no *Kingdom* or *Monarchy* shall ever be established [here]. . . . The Old World for Despotism, the New World for Republics.

He proposed that Roosevelt convoke a convention of all the American republics in Washington on July 4, 1905, and set in motion his plans for a grand confederation. Unless such an organization were perfected, Germany would "sooner or later establish a monarchy in South America".

The eyes of the world are upon you [Chipman declared with fervor]. You are a man of Destiny. Washington, Lincoln, and McKinley were men for their times. Yours is a wider, a grander destiny than theirs. . . .

Don't trifle with destiny! Be equal to the occasion that Providence and the trend of current events have placed in your hands.

The third letter of the civilian group was a vivid reminder of the enthusiasms of 1898. It was dated December 27, 1905, and was written by a veteran of the Spanish-American War who had once been the editor of a newspaper, *The Journal*, of Logansport, Indiana. The name of the writer was W. S. Wright, and he reminded the Roosevelt administration that a plan was under consideration for intervention in the Dominican Republic shortly after the military occupation of Cuba. Wright had gone to the neighboring island "in the confidence of General Brooke". He had then proceeded to Washington for interviews with McKinley, Hay, and the leaders of the house and senate. With few exceptions, he had found them in favor of his plan. McKinley and Hay were "in thorough accord" with him; they wished to intervene on humanitarian principles; but they felt that "anti-expansion sentiment" made delay for at least a year advisable. Of course Wright was an enthusiastic supporter of the Dominican treaty which was then in the hands of the senate.

To these three civilian letters one other may be added, although its author—Washington Lithgow, a vice-consul of

the United States in the Dominican Republic—may have had investments in the country. On March 3, 1904, he suggested to Loomis that the United States take charge of the Dominican customs houses, lease Samaná and Manzanillo bays, and guarantee the interest on the Dominican debts for ninety-nine years. He said that the United States should establish relationships with the republic similar to those set up with Cuba, admitting Dominican sugar and Cuban sugar into the United States on more or less the same basis.

The officers of the United States Navy, probably without exception, were in favor of dominating the republic. They were motivated by sentimental imperialism and a desire for naval bases.

On March 30, 1904 (letter transmitted to the state department on April 7), Rear-Admiral W. C. Wise wrote the secretary of the navy as follows:

Eventually the United States will have to assume grave responsibility on the island in order to work out the solution of a stable government.

It is very necessary that complete examination . . . be made of the entire coast, and the small vessels policing these waters should be required to carry on surveys at every opportunity so that full knowledge can be obtained. . . .

On June 26, 1904 (transmitted to the secretary of state on August 3), Rear-Admiral C. D. Sigsbee urged upon his chief the advisability of drastic action. He mentioned three points suitable for naval bases and recommended intervention in order to set up a relationship similar to that provided by the Panamanian and the Cuban treaties. Writing disparagingly of the primitive and mixed races of Hispanic America, he said he had no hope of the regeneration or the rejuvenation of these countries strictly from within. Santo Domingo and Haiti he placed at "the bottom of the list". "It may even be asked", he said,

if the Monroe Doctrine is not holding a large part of this hemisphere in check against Cosmic Tendencies, and whether it does not impose a



great burden of responsibility and initiative on the United States. . . . I have no strong hope for any Latin-American Republic except through immigration and exterior domination.

Commander Albert C. Dillingham of the *Detroit*, a naval officer who had spent much time in Dominican waters, was heartily in favor of taking control of the country. On August 21, 1904, he wrote Loomis a long letter describing the turbulent and hopeless conditions in the insular republic, where entering politics and going into revolution were synonymous terms and where insurgency had become an institution. Dillingham said that a feudal system existed: all over the republic there were "leading men known as Chiefs" who absolutely controlled the "masses of the people". Few governments could gain power or retain it without the backing of such chiefs, to whom it was necessary to pay tribute amounting to thousands and even hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. Revolutions were ruining the country, and Dillingham urged the authorities at Washington to intervene. All foreigners and many of the natives were agreed, he said, that "something must be done". The time for action had arrived, and if the United States did not take matters in hand soon, some other government would. Dillingham seems to have had in mind at that time little more than the seizure of the customs houses. In a letter written to Loomis on December 6, 1904, however, he advocated intervention of a more drastic nature. After displaying his interest in the strategic bays of the region, he said:

We must govern the country as well as control its finances, till the people of Santo Domingo can learn to govern themselves. Govern the country, control its finances, use a native police force well organized, employ the unemployed in building roads, . . . revise the tariff, and we will give to the world in no very long time another orderly and prosperous republic.

These were the sentiments of the vested interests and the expansionists. It is not possible to estimate the influence which either, and especially the expansionists, had upon Theo-

dore Roosevelt. The correspondence of the period clearly reveals, however, the thoroughness with which the lives and property of citizens of the United States, as well as their claims, were protected. They were shielded both by strong diplomatic pressure and by the landing of armed forces.<sup>5</sup> One group of capitalists, in particular, was given vigorous support: the San Domingo Improvement Company. This company, with its chief offices located in New York and with its three subsidiaries—the National Bank of Santo Domingo, the Central Railway of Santo Domingo, and the San Domingo Finance Corporation of New York—was deeply involved in Dominican finances and concessions. It also had close connections with British bondholders and was deeply indebted to them. In 1893, it had taken charge of Dominican customs and the flotation of Dominican government loans; but eight years later, in January, 1901, it was deprived of these functions, whereupon both the Improvement Company and the British bondholders appealed to the United States government, the bondholders apparently making their appeal through the British ambassador in Washington.

Immediately the state department gave the company vigorous backing, and settlements were eventually reached (January 31, 1903 and July 14, 1904) by the terms of which the company was to receive four and one-half million dollars for its properties, rights, and claims in the Dominican Republic. This sum was to be paid in monthly instalments and guaranteed by certain customs-house receipts.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The correspondence supporting this statement is too bulky to cite in detail. The majority of the Despatches from the Dominican Republic during the years 1899 to 1904 deal with the matter (see vols. 6 to 11). The instructions for the period are filed under the title "Haiti", since one diplomat served both posts (see Instructions, Haiti, vol. 4). The Miscellaneous Letters of these years contain many of the reports of the naval officers engaged in protecting American lives and property in the Dominican Republic. See also *Messages and Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1903-1904), sections dealing with the Dominican Republic; cited as *For. Rel.* hereafter).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my article, "The British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIX (June, 1934), 196-198; and *For. Rel.* (1904), pp. 277 ff., (1905), pp. 278 ff., *passim*.



But the distraught and bankrupt little nation was unable to meet its obligations to these and other investors and claimants; and the company at length proceeded to take charge of the customs houses of Puerto Plata (October 20, 1904), and Monte Cristy (February 10, 1905). In order to maintain its agents in these two ports, however, the aid of war vessels soon became necessary.<sup>7</sup>

## II

The negotiations relative to the affairs of this company and other economic interests of citizens of the United States were merely a part of a general scramble for the settlement of claims which involved also the nationals of France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Germany. It was this scramble, intensified in considerable measure by the support which the United States was giving to its investors, that furnished the basis for whatever fears Roosevelt may have entertained with reference to the possible designs of one or more of these European Powers.

Letters which came from the Caribbean to Roosevelt and the state department were often filled with rumors and apprehensions of a more or less substantial nature with respect to the contemplated action of some of those European governments. Germany was most frequently alluded to, but all of the other nations, with the exception of England, were likewise mentioned. A few illustrations must suffice.

On November 4, 1902, and January 5, 1903, Minister W. F. Powell reported that the agent of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company had used his influence to effect a reduction in port dues. This had been done with the view of injuring the Clyde line, which enjoyed exemption from such dues, and forcing it to withdraw its steamers.<sup>8</sup>

On March 1, 1903, Powell said he had been informed that

<sup>7</sup> *Post*, pp. 447, 448.

<sup>8</sup> State Department of the United States, Despatches from the Dominican Republic, Vol. 6. Unless otherwise indicated all the letters cited in the second section of this article may be found in the appropriate volumes of this chronological file.

the German consul general had received instructions to observe the negotiations of the American minister with utmost care and make a full report on his movements. The consul general had been directed, wrote Powell, to send to Berlin

a history of the cases to which I have called the attention of this Government, and what action this Government has taken, and whether pressure is being exercised to compel a settlement.

On April 3, 1903, the minister from the United States enclosed a clipping from a Haitian journal containing a quotation from a French newspaper. Complaining that the San Domingo Improvement Company had secured a settlement of its claims without taking French, German, and Belgian interests into consideration, the French newspaper declared that these three powers were on the point of demanding a joint administration of Dominican customs. When asked about the matter, however, early in June, the Dominican foreign minister declared that these governments had not made "the slightest insinuation" with reference to the matter. The rumor, said the Dominican diplomat, "has no foundation whatever".<sup>9</sup>

Powell's despatches of May 12 and September 12 and 14, 1903, referred to German interest in Dominican naval bases. He said that a German gunboat had been taking soundings. He remarked further that Jesús Galván, Dominican minister of foreign affairs, was toying with a scheme to grant Samaná Bay and Manzanillo Bay as coaling stations to Germany. Powell thought, however, that the Dominican president was more friendly toward the United States, and that Galván's purpose was to obtain an offer from Germany with the view of using it to force a higher offer from the United States. Apparently the Dominican foreign minister had also presented a bill to the legislature of the republic outlining a plan for neutralizing the waters and making free the ports of his country. This abolition of the port dues would have annulled

<sup>9</sup> See Powell to Hay, June 9, 1903.



the special privileges of the Clyde Steamship Company. These three reports of Powell's aroused interest in the state department, but they seem not to have caused any excitement. The veteran Alvy Adee merely wrote this comment on the back of the last of them:

President Wos y Gil and Minister Galván are pulling apart. Wos is practical and realizes his only help can come from us. Galván is pursuing an impractical theory, moved by distrust of the United States, . . . and advocates throwing Santo Domingo into the loving arms of Germany. I think Galván's bill is already doomed.

The Wos y Gil administration was overthrown six weeks later.

In letters of September 17 and October 3, 13, and 16, 1903, Powell reported indications that Germany and Spain were to coöperate in the settlement of their claims against the Dominican Republic. His information on this matter seems to have come mainly from *Listín Diario*, a newspaper of Santo Domingo City. Powell also stated that the official interpreter and translator of the Dominican government was a German subject. "I find," said Powell in his despatch of October 3, "that the German Government is fully acquainted with all my movements." Powell's letter of October 13 also summarized an article which had recently appeared in the *Listín Diario*. Written by a Dominican, who was then an officer in the Spanish Navy, the article predicted that the navies of the United States and Germany would soon be in conflict. The officer remarked that Germany would probably employ St. Thomas and Samaná Bay as bases in the coming war. Powell thought that these views, which were significant because of the close relations that existed between Spain and Germany, were generally held by the high officials in the Spanish service.

On February 26, 1904, Powell enclosed a translation (the original was not sent to the state department) of a letter written by Demetrio Rodríguez, chief of the revolutionary forces fighting in behalf of Juan Isidro Jiménez, to the German consul at Santo Domingo City. Rodríguez informed the German

consul that Carlos F. Morales, the president then in power, was soliciting aid from the United States, and requested that Germany not only recognize the belligerency of the Jimenista insurgents but enter into a secret alliance with Jiménez in order to counteract the influence of the United States. Powell thought that the Jimenistas were definitely counting on an alliance with Germany. A few days later James M. Miller, a captain in the United States Navy, invited General Rodríguez on board his vessel for some pointed remarks. "I told him," wrote Miller on March 4, 1904,

that the revolution must close and that neither he nor any one must think for a moment that Germany or any other foreign power could be situated in any portion of the Dominican territory; that the United States would not for a moment sanction it.<sup>10</sup>

The letters sent from the Caribbean during this period indicate that the movements of German war vessels were being carefully watched. But the movements of the vessels of other nations were likewise closely observed, and it does not appear that Germany was any more aggressive than the other European powers. In fact, German claims were comparatively of minor importance, and Germany supported them perhaps with less vigor than France displayed in backing the interests of its nationals.

The French and Belgian capitalists were closely allied, and as early as June 8, 1903, Ambassador Jules Jusserand had formally communicated with the State Department in their behalf. He had suggested that the agreement of January 31, 1903, between the San Domingo Improvement Company and the Dominican government might conflict with the prior claims of the French and the Belgians.<sup>11</sup>

On September 15, 1903, Powell reported rumors of possible coöperation between France, Belgium, and the United States in defense of the claims of their nationals. And be-

<sup>10</sup> Miller's letter will be found in the Miscellaneous file.

<sup>11</sup> Jusserand's note is printed in *Loomis Memorandum*, pp. 31-32.



fore long an American capitalist was lending a hand in the proposed coöperative plan. On October 19, 1903, W. L. Bass, the largest sugar planter in the Dominican Republic, was reported by Powell to have been actively supporting the scheme. The several governments concerned were to submit the claims of their nationals for adjustment and insist on prompt payment. The Dominican foreign minister was to reply that the condition of the treasury would not permit a speedy settlement, whereupon one of the foreign diplomats would propose that the fiscal affairs of the republic be administered and controlled by an international commission "as in Greece a few years before and as in Egypt" at that time. The suggestion, it was hoped, would come from the minister of the United States; but if not, it would be made by the agent of one of the European governments. Bass had conferred with the Dominican president and several members of his cabinet, who were said to favor the plan. Powell was somewhat alarmed. "The serious character of this movement," he said, "is the effort to secure the support of a certain European Power and make it potent in the political affairs of the Republic." He failed to name the Power, but he must have had either Germany or France in mind.

On October 29, 1903, Powell wrote that the Belgian charge in Santo Domingo had made a definite overture to him. The United States, France, and Belgium were to be asked to take charge of the Dominican customs houses and revenues; this was the substance of the proposal. Powell remarked to the Belgian that Italy and Germany would complain, but the agent of the government at Brussels replied that a small percentage could be set aside for the nationals of these countries, whose claims were of only minor importance. Powell then suggested that the negotiations on the matter should be handled at Washington and promised to report the interview. No record of any formal consideration of the proposal has been found in the archives of the state department.

On November 25, 1903, the day after the overthrow of the

Wos y Gil government by Carlos F. Morales, Powell wrote a letter in which he displayed some anxiety. He said:

As it stands to-day, the country is virtually bankrupt, and this condition . . . implies danger to our Government, as foreign creditors will demand payment of their claims, which demand will be enforced by the guns of Foreign Vessels. At the same time our citizens will make a like demand. This is the grave danger that confronts us, and it will [require] . . . the wisest statesmanship to avert it.

On December 14, 1903, Powell stated that the German consul had instructions to call war vessels from St. Thomas without communicating with Berlin. On December 21, he reported the arrival of three German men-of-war. After remaining for four hours, however, they departed, leaving the war vessels of the United States to guard all foreign interests. Powell remarked in this letter that in the future the German consul, when in need of military support, would have to apply directly to the German capital.

Shortly afterward, the agents of the Italian and Spanish governments began to arouse uneasiness along with the representatives of the other European nations. On April 14, 1904, Powell reported that the Italian minister from Havana was to arrive at Santo Domingo City on April 17. This diplomat was supposed to be coming for the purpose of demanding immediate fulfilment of an agreement signed in 1903. It was rumored that he was to be supported by Italian naval vessels cruising in neighboring waters, and that in case of a refusal to pay, certain customs houses would be seized and held until the amount due was liquidated. Powell and Dillingham were prepared to take over these customs in order to keep them out of the hands of the Italians. But the rumors turned out to be groundless. The Italian came and departed without aggressive action. The ambassador of the United States at Rome was assured by the Italian minister of foreign affairs that a

demand by Italy for immediate payment of its claims against [the] Dominican Republic, with seizure of customs houses or other forcible



collection if demand is not complied with, has never been contemplated.<sup>12</sup>

On October 3 and December 24, 1904, the Italian ambassador at Washington protested, however, against the arbitral award of July 14, 1904, in favor of the San Domingo Improvement Company.<sup>13</sup> And the attitude of the Italian monarch was revealed during an audience with the American ambassador early in December. Of this audience the ambassador wrote on December 8:

The king prophesied that all the countries north of Panama would have to be taken by the United States or controlled by them. The Republic of Haiti continues to interest him, as Italy has some claims, and he desired to know what President Roosevelt proposed doing . . . to bring matters in order there, as well as in Venezuela, where, as he claimed, President Castro was not living up to his bond.

The primary purpose of the audience was to present the king an autographed letter from President Roosevelt congratulating him on the birth of a son and heir to the throne. Apparently the monarch, who had no aggressive intentions himself, was eager for the United States to take charge of all the turbulent republics of the Caribbean. Had the Italian monarch confused Haiti and the Dominican Republic?<sup>14</sup>

On September 8, 1904, Thomas C. Dawson, who had succeeded Powell at the Dominican post, reported that the agents of the European Powers had agreed to present a joint demand to the government there for a settlement of certain claims. The French chargé had suggested that Dawson participate in the demand, but Dawson had declined. Already, on August 23, the American minister had written that the German and French demands, according to reports, were to be given armed support. This news may have caused President Roosevelt some

<sup>12</sup> George von L. Meyer to John Hay, May 6, 1904, filed in Despatches from Italy, vol. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Correspondence filed in state department, Notes from Italian Embassy, vol. 20.

<sup>14</sup> This letter from Meyer, the American ambassador to Italy, is filed in Despatches, Italy, vol. 41.

excitement, for among his papers in the Library of Congress one may find a list—dated November 24 but without any statement of the year in which it was drawn up—of United States war vessels in Dominican waters. The list indicates that some twelve or thirteen were cruising in the region, with another en route.

On October 27, and November 16, 1904, Dawson stated that the Spanish minister in the Dominican Republic had remonstrated repeatedly, in behalf of both Spanish and German claimants, against the San Domingo Improvement Company award. The Italian agent had also protested, the German diplomatic agent was expected to arrive on a German man-of-war on November 29, and the Belgian agent had stated that Jusserand intended to urge the United States to take charge of the Dominican customs houses.

On December 14, 1904, the American minister informed Secretary Hay that a French war vessel was expected to appear on the following day. The French chargé, said Dawson, had no hope of securing payment on French claims "without pressure for some further security". The agent of the government at Paris had informed him that his chief had cabled Ambassador Jusserand instructions to confer with Secretary Hay. The French chargé would expect further orders after that conference. Three days later Dawson reported his view that the French and Belgian governments would not resort to force without consulting the state department. The archives of the department contain no record of negotiations between Jusserand and Hay at this critical juncture. Yet it is not unlikely that personal conferences occurred.

On December 28, 1904, the following cipher telegram was sent to Dawson:

You will sound the President of Santo Domingo, discreetly but earnestly and in perfect friendly spirit, touching the disquieting situation which is developing owing to the pressure of other Governments having arbitral awards in their favor and who regard our award as conflicting with their rights. Already one European Gov-



ernment strongly intimates that it may resort to occupation of some Dominican customs ports to secure its own payment. There appears to be a concert among them. You will ascertain whether the Government of Santo Domingo would be disposed to request the United States to take charge of the collection of duties and effect an equitable distribution of the assigned quotas among the Dominican Government and the several claimants. We have ground to think that such an arrangement would satisfy the other powers, besides serving as a practical guarantee of the peace of Santo Domingo, from external influences or internal disturbances.<sup>15</sup>

“Already one European Government strongly intimates that it may resort to occupation of some Dominican customs ports to secure its own payment”. To which of the European governments did Secretary Hay refer? Was it Italy, or France in coöperation with Belgium, or Germany in collusion with Spain? The evidence seems to point to France or Italy. And yet it is known that, owing to the Venezuelan episode and the defeat of the Danish treaty ceding the Virgin Islands to the United States as well as because of other rumors and incidents, the members of the Roosevelt administration were suspicious of Germany. It appears, however, that these suspicions, in the case of the Dominican Republic, never led to any inquiries from the United States ambassador at Berlin. (Would this indicate that there was no apprehension on this score, or would it merely signify that the United States was so distrustful of German diplomats that it considered disavowals worthless and therefore made no attempt to ascertain German intentions?)

In attempting to weigh the influence of Europe on the initiation of the Dominican customs receivership one should also bear in mind the general state of world politics. It may be recalled that the Russo-Japanese War broke out in February, 1904, and that this conflict was not over until the Moroccan crisis began to develop. So far as the European

<sup>15</sup> Instructions, Dominican Republic, vol. 1. The printed instruction is dated December 30, 1904. With Dawson's appointment an independent legation was established in Santo Domingo City.

Powers were concerned, it might appear that Roosevelt was free to intervene or refuse to intervene in the Dominican Republic at any time between the outbreak of the War in the Far East and the final adjustment of the Moroccan question. He was in close touch with both of these world problems.

### III

But what was the attitude of the Dominicans toward this projected intervention by the United States? This is a long story which can only be summarized here. It does not reflect credit on the patriotism of a number of the Dominican leaders, some of whom were mere soldiers of fortune. They may be excused in part on the ground that their country was weak, difficult to govern, and exposed to external menace.

In the early years they were desperately afraid of their neighbors in Haiti. In 1845, within a year after winning their independence from the rulers of the other part of the island of Española, President Pedro Santana sought protection or annexation from Spain. In 1849, another president, Buenaventura Báez, made overtures for a protectorate both to France and to the United States. Ten years later, the same ruler was said to be considering annexation by either France or Spain. Between 1861 and 1865, Spain actually governed the island republic largely through the agency of Pedro Santana, who acted in the capacity of captain general for a time. Between 1869 and 1873, President Báez, once again in power, favored annexation to the United States, and when these negotiations failed, he turned to Germany with a proposal to lease Samaná Bay. In 1877, he solicited aid from the United States against Haiti, declaring that he still favored annexation. Failing to obtain a satisfactory response, he asked Spain for either a protectorate or annexation. In the summer of 1898, Ulises Heureaux, who was then chief executive, offered to lease a naval base to Germany, but Germany rejected the offer. A year later, shortly before his assassination, this Dominican dictator made overtures to W. F. Powell. He wished to place the



republic "under the protection of the United States."<sup>16</sup> Subsequent attitudes must be described in greater detail.

On May 3, 1902, Powell wrote that many Dominicans were hoping for closer relations with the United States. He said that the sentiments of the people might be verified by Judge J. T. Abbott of the San Domingo Improvement Company. Powell did not make it clear whether the Dominicans wished to acquire the status of Cuba or of Puerto Rico.

On November 4, 1903, Powell wrote at length regarding the incessant revolutions to which the country was being subjected. He saw no hope for improvement. The end of one civil war was but the beginning of another, and the objective of all was the control of the treasury, which depended in the main on the customs receipts. In this connection he remarked:

As long as this state of things continues, the future of the country is dark, and for this reason those who are not aspirants for political offices or honors will hail the day when the Republic knows no other flag than ours. This feeling is shared by every large merchant, by all the foreigners (with the exception possibly of our German Friends). It is so prevalent that one can hear the children in the streets and plazas say: "When the Americans come here we will have law, and we (boys) will not be allowed to have pistols." Others have said: "When this [American] flag is placed over Dominican soil, there will not be a hand to draw it down."

Powell said that a tradition had developed with reference to the removal of the flag of the United States from Samaná Bay during the Grant period. The Dominican soldier who hauled it down and replaced it by the flag of his own country was stricken with total blindness for the rest of his life!

On December 17, 1903, Powell reported that Carlos F. Morales, who had seized the government on November 24, had

<sup>16</sup> *For. Rel.* (1906), pp. 574 ff.; W. F. Powell to John Hay, June 10, 1899, Despatches, Dominican Republic, vol. 5. Subsequent letters from Powell and Dawson referred to in this section are preserved in the appropriate volumes of this chronological file of Despatches from the Dominican Republic. Except as otherwise indicated, the remainder of the correspondence to which reference is made in this third section will be found in Miscellaneous Letters.

just called at the Legation. Morales was seeking recognition and support, and was on the point of sending Juan F. Sánchez to Washington to negotiate a treaty placing his government "directly under the influence of the United States as in the case of Cuba". Morales wished to

arrange that the products of the country (sugar, tobacco, honey, wax) should be entered into the markets of the United States upon terms similar to those about to be granted to Cuba.

He desired the United States also to exercise a controlling influence over the fiscal affairs of the republic so as to guarantee full payment of foreign creditors. And he was willing to grant the Washington government the use of the bays of Samaná and Manzanillo for a term of fifty years at a fixed rental.

Sánchez arrived in Washington late in January, 1904, and, on February 3, he sent Francis B. Loomis a memorandum proposing a "treaty of alliance, amity, and reciprocity". He outlined the terms desired by his government as follows: (1) The United States was to guarantee the independence of the Dominican Republic as well as its full sovereignty over the whole of its territory. (2) The United States should also agree to reduce the tariffs on Dominican sugar, tobacco, cocoa, and other agricultural products as well as on manufactured products. (3) The Dominican government would cede to the United States during the life of the treaty coaling and naval stations at Samaná Bay and Manzanillo, but the Dominican Republic would retain sovereignty over these bays as well as the right to collect and control customs levied in them. (4) In consideration of said lease the United States was to pay an annual sum sufficient to meet the Dominican Republic's engagements to foreign creditors, this annual fund to be controlled by the United States. (5) In addition, the United States was to lend various types of assistance to the Dominican Republic in the maintenance of order: (a) \$100,000 upon the signing of the treaty and \$200,000 one month thereafter;



(b) arms and munitions to be supplied, and warships when needed; (c) arms and supplies to be prevented from reaching the insurgents from abroad, as likewise armed expeditions with hostile intent. (6) The United States was to serve as mediator and protector of the republic in its relations with foreign nations. And (7) the Washington government would build and maintain at its own expense various lighthouses on the Dominican coasts. Not one word about customs control by the United States! Evidently Sánchez was an optimist!<sup>17</sup>

After sounding the Dominican diplomat further, Loomis wrote a memorandum for his chief on February 9. "What he [Sánchez] appears to want," said Loomis,

is to establish between the United States and Santo Domingo some such relation as exists between the Republic of Cuba and the United States by virtue of the incorporation of the Platt Amendment into the constitution of Cuba.

"General Sánchez," added Loomis,

even talks a little of annexation, but consideration of annexation and also of a reciprocity treaty, upon which he lays stress, may be excluded from the discussion.

The main purpose of Sánchez in coming to Washington, Loomis noted, was to raise cash by leasing Samaná and Manzanillo bays, but the Dominican also desired to induce the United States to become responsible for the maintenance of order in the republic. Loomis observed in conclusion that while Mr. Bass thought order could be preserved by stationing war vessels at important points along the coast, he himself felt sure this task would also involve the administration of Dominican customs by the United States, for "control of them", said Loomis, "is the primary source of all civil war". The high official of the state department gave no indication, however, of Sánchez's disposition to cede this customs control.<sup>18</sup> The notion of customs control originated with Loomis or his subordinates.

<sup>17</sup> Notes from the Dominican Legation, vol. 3.

<sup>18</sup> For no very obvious reason this brief memorandum initialed by Loomis is filed among the Miscellaneous Letters.

A few days later, President Roosevelt sent Loomis, Admiral Dewey, and an official of the department of commerce on a special mission of investigation to the Dominican Republic. They returned on March 18, and on the following day Loomis submitted a confidential report. Among other things, he said:

The conservative, property-owning, and industrious people of the country, irrespective of nationality—foreigners and natives alike—talk seriously and with evident favor of annexation to the United States. General Morales and the politicians of his following suggest, with much force, that peace of a permanent nature would be secured if the administration of the custom-houses of the country were undertaken by the Government of the United States. . . . If the United States controlled the custom-houses there would be nothing for the revolutionists to fight for. The agricultural element in the population probably would favor this, and all classes would, I think, save the rather small contingent of military-political freebooters who have nothing to lose and much to gain by maintaining a state of anarchy in the country.

. . . General Morales is willing and even desirous of making some such arrangement with this country, and, in connection with it, giving us a long lease of Samana Bay, for which he would expect to receive a cash money consideration. He would probably be satisfied with \$100,000 in hand and \$150,000 paid in half a dozen annual installments. Morales would also agree to a supervision by us of public expenditures.

Evidently Loomis was in favor of intervention. He alluded to the European danger and the hostile attitude of Haiti. He said that the revolutionary leader Jiménez also desired the United States to intervene. He spoke enthusiastically of the resources of the Dominican Republic, which he declared to be the "most attractive, fertile, salubrious spot of all the West India Islands", but he said that it was rapidly approaching anarchy.<sup>19</sup> And apparently he authorized Powell to proceed with preliminary negotiations, for on March 16, Powell cabled Loomis as follows:

<sup>19</sup> *Loomis Memorandum*, pp. 3-4.

According to your instructions the President agrees to place Custom Houses in the custody of the Government of the United States, also the bays named at rental to be agreed upon.

Thus the stage was set for intervention early in 1904. But for some reason it did not occur. Sánchez, in Washington, continued to press for an answer to his proposals, and it is possible that Loomis also kept urging that some action be taken. On March 28, however, Hay left the following memorandum (perhaps for Loomis):

I talked over this matter with the President, and he is of the opinion that we can do no more than say to Mr. Sanchez, quite informally, that, as they seem to be making some progress toward a settlement of their trouble, he thinks it better that they shall complete the work without foreign intervention; that, in the present state of affairs, he sees no way in which the United States could take part in the pacification of the Republic, without establishing precedents which would be equally inconvenient and undesirable for both countries.<sup>20</sup>

The next day, Hay decided to assume personal responsibility for breaking the news to Sánchez. And on March 30, he gave Roosevelt an amusing account of what occurred:

Dear Theodore:—

I saw General Sánchez yesterday, and gave him his *coup de grace*. He bore his doom like a soldier and gentleman. He rose and said: "When I came here my hope was in the generous good will of the American people. Now my only hope is in God,"—which he seemed to regard as inadequate compensation.<sup>21</sup>

But the point to be emphasized here is the fact that Carlos F. Morales was inviting the intervention of the United States in the affairs of the Dominican Republic. He was very kindly disposed toward this country. Was there any special reason for his attitude?

There was indeed! He owed his exalted position as chief executive of the Dominican Republic in part to the assistance of United States Marines. Note carefully the following evi-

<sup>20</sup> Hay's Memorandum is filed in Notes from the Dominican Legation, vol. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Roosevelt Papers, Dominican file:



dence: On January 17, 1904, A. C. Dillingham, commanding officer of the *U. S. S. Detroit*, reported to the Secretary of Navy that he had landed his forces in order to prevent fighting in the streets of Puerto Plata. Jiménez, who was in revolt against Morales, was defeated, driven into the "cordon arranged for before hand". On March 12, 1904, Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal sent a letter of complaint to the state department. He said that the warships of the United States Navy had bombarded Villa Duarte, near the mouth of the Ozama River, on February 11; the Jimenistas were then encamped there planning to capture Santo Domingo City! He also declared that American war vessels had prevented the Clyde Liner *New York* from landing ammunitions at Monte Cristy for Jiménez, and had forced them to be landed for Morales at Puerto Plata. On May 16, Dillingham said that commissioners of Morales and the Jimenistas were soon to meet for negotiations near Monte Cristy, and that he intended to be present. "I feel very sure," Dillingham wrote, "if I could have these commissioners in my cabin, they would not leave until terms of peace had been signed." This vessel [the *Detroit*] is a factor in all that transpires," he said. "The *Gloucester* was at [the port of] Sanchez and I have been to every other port in the Republic during the past month." Dillingham's letters of June 5 and 9 show that he got the leaders into his cabin and helped them to agree to terminate the civil war. In a letter which he wrote to Robert Bacon on January 16, 1906, this naval officer declared that he had arrived with the *Detroit* in Dominican waters late in December, 1903, and that he was "entirely responsible for the placing of Morales in power". He had decided that this "would be for the best interests of all concerned". "The placing of Morales in San Domingo City", said Dillingham, "was my doing."

Carlos F. Morales had peculiar reasons for gratitude! The military forces of the United States had helped him to seize the government of the Dominican Republic and were also assisting him in the struggle to retain his power. But Morales

was not essentially different from most of his rivals. Practically all of the leaders were willing and eager to obtain aid from almost any source in their struggle for power and the revenues of the customs houses.

Juan Isidro Jiménez was favoring American intervention, probably in the hope of improving his political position. "His wish," wrote T. E. D. Veeder, commander of the *Hartford*, on March 14, 1904,

is that the United States should intervene so far as to secure a fair election and that the status of the country should be the same as the status of Cuba under the Platt Amendment, this with the single exception that he added the words "more or less".

Veeder said that Jiménez still had many followers, at least half of the people and probably more.

If the United States does not interfere and even if he disappears, he says the temper of his people is such that they will continue to resist the authority of the provisional government. He states as his belief that armed intervention will not be necessary, but that both sides would lay down arms upon the demand of a commissioner from the United States to the Dominican people. . . .

As late as January, 1906, Jiménez was still urging the United States to supervise national elections in the republic and declaring that three-fourths of the people would vote for him. "The present historic epoch", he said,

peremptorily demands that the United States, the only protector of these small nations, decide to exert their influence over them, for the sake of civilization, and lift them up from the anarchy and prostration in which they lie.

Jiménez was writing to the governor of Puerto Rico, where he was residing in exile; and Governor Beekman Winthrop transmitted the letter to Elihu Root on January 24, 1906.

Even, Manuel de Jesús Galván, who had cast longing eyes toward Germany in 1903, was willing to aid in the initiation of the customs control. In letters of December 18, 1905, to

Adee and Root he offered his assistance in getting the treaty through the senate.

As for the rest of the people of the Dominican Republic, their attitude with respect to the intervention of the United States is difficult to determine. The illiterate masses probably had no views at all or accepted those of their leaders blindly. The views of that small articulate group who were neither army officers nor in search of political posts might possibly have been discovered by a special commissioner or the examination of a somewhat fettered press. It does not appear, however, that the Roosevelt administration made any effort to gauge such opinion. It was content to depend upon the reports of the agents of the state and navy departments.

These reports, colored most likely by the wishes of those who made them, indicated a general desire for some sort of assistance from the United States. Statements of Powell and Loomis have already been quoted. The reports of Dillingham and Dawson, the negotiators of the protocol of February 7, 1905, with Carlos F. Morales, who was hardly more than a puppet of the United States, placed in power and maintained for a time by its military forces, are given below for what they are worth.

On May 16, 1904, Dillingham wrote:

The people see . . . that we are working for peace and order; the idea that we desire conquest or annexation has vanished, and from the Executive Mansion, and the Archbishop's palace to the bumboat, everyone is looking to the United States as the one hope for their country.

And again in his letter of August 21 the commander of the *Detroit* stated that intervention by the United States would be supported by a group of young men educated abroad as well as by the masses, provided employment at good wages could be supplied.

Dawson, who had arrived in the island republic near the end of June, 1904, declared in his letter of July 6 to John Hay:



With hardly an exception, the many Dominicans whom I have met in the last nine days have told me that a long continuance of peace cannot be expected unless the United States government intervenes. The officials are nearly as frank on this point, as are the merchants and farmers who are not in politics. Practically all classes seem to expect and hope for some form of American protection.

In authorizing Dawson, on December 28, 1904, to begin negotiations for a customs receivership, Roosevelt may have accepted this view of the wishes of the Dominicans with confidence. And yet if he read the reports of the naval officers during that and ensuing months, he must have been aware of lively opposition in some quarters to the occupation of the customs houses by the agents of either the San Domingo Improvement Company or the United States government. Dillingham's letter of December 6 to Loomis indicated that Ramón Cáceres, vice president of the Dominican Republic, was reluctant and desirous of a guaranty of the independence of his nation. Another letter from Dillingham, dated December 18 and transmitted to the state department on December 28, called attention to popular opposition. Writing from Puerto Plata, he remarked:

The people here and throughout the Cibao are just at present very antagonistic to the idea of American control of the custom houses, and to Americans generally, and I have heard well-defined rumors of possible personal violence to American lives and property if any other custom houses are turned over to American management.

On January 24, 1905, the navy department transmitted to the secretary of state a number of enclosures indicating strong opposition to the occupation of the customs houses by the agent of the San Domingo Improvement Company. On the previous day, C. D. Sigsbee, commander of the Caribbean Squadron, requested that seven war vessels be placed at his disposal. On February 23 (letter transmitted to the state department on March 11), Sigsbee wrote that the leaders of Monte Cristi had made an appeal to the United States Congress against the transfer of customs control and the maintenance of Morales in power. He said that they had appealed

also to Germany and Spain and were contemplating an appeal to France. On April 11 (transmitted to the state department on April 24), he gave a further account of his difficulties in placing the customs houses in the hands of the collectors sent out by the Roosevelt administration according to the terms of the *modus vivendi* of April 1, resorted to by the president when the senate adjourned without approving the protocol of February 7. Sigsbee's orders of April 5 were as follows:

Do not take possession of any custom-house unless necessary to secure the personal safety of any American citizen lawfully engaged in collecting customs revenues under the *Modus Vivendi* and to secure the safe custody of the money which he is collecting and to enable him to continue his duties.

Despite early reports of almost universal desire for American intervention, a certain degree of menace and coercion proved necessary. The terms of the protocol of February 7, 1905, which were applied by Roosevelt under the *modus vivendi* until the new convention of February 8, 1907, was approved by the senate, were not entirely satisfactory to the Morales government. The United States hesitated to include in this agreement a blanket guaranty of the national independence and territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic; refused to require the creditors to bear the expenses of the receivership; refused to accept a joint collectorship by the agents of the two governments; and failed to grant the Dominican government as large a share of the customs as it desired, reducing the Dominican quota to forty-five per cent. The assertion that the United States initiated the receivership by means of military force would be approximately correct.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV

Such is the historical background of the Dominican protectorate; such were the potential influences back of Theodore

<sup>22</sup> The correspondence and documents relative to the protocol of February 7, 1905, are filed in Despatches from the Dominican Republic, vols. 13-14. A good summary of negotiations will be found in *For. Rel.* (1905), pp. 298 ff.

Roosevelt's policy. With these in mind we may now examine his statements with reference to his attitude and motives in some detail.

On February 23, 1904, he wrote Joseph Bucklin Bishop as follows:

I have been hoping and praying for three months that the Santo Domingans would behave so that I would not have to act in any way. I want to do nothing but what a policeman has to do in Santo Domingo. As for annexing the island, I have about the same desire to annex it as a gorged boa constrictor might have to swallow a porcupine wrong-end-to. I have asked some of our people to go there because, after having refused for three months to do anything, the attitude of the Santo Domingans has become one of half chaotic war towards us. If I possibly can, I want to do nothing to them. If it is absolutely necessary to do something, then I want to do as little as possible. Their government has been bedeviling us to establish some kind of protectorate . . . , and take charge of their finances. We have been answering them that we could not possibly go into the subject now at all.<sup>23</sup>

Here he refers to the mission of Loomis and Dewey and perhaps exaggerates the eagerness of the Dominicans for assistance from the United States. The Morales government had not yet asked the United States to "take charge of its finances"; it had merely tried to obtain funds by leasing naval bases to the Washington government. The idea of a customs control originated with the agents of the United States.

Roosevelt's letter of May 20, 1904, to Elihu Root shows that Roosevelt had not discarded the idea of intervention after the decision of March 28, of which Hay had informed Sánchez on March 29. This note contains perhaps the first statement of what later became known as the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine:

Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendliness. If a nation shows that it knows how to act

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time* (2 vols. New York, 1920), I, 431.



with decency in industrial and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, then it need fear no interference from the United States. Brutal wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the United States cannot ignore this duty.

In compliance with Roosevelt's suggestion, Root, who was then secretary of war, read the letter at a banquet in New York. Roosevelt was sounding public opinion, and the letter provoked both praise and condemnation. Had the president declined formal intervention at the end of March because of uneasiness with respect to the effect of such action on the elections of November, 1904? And had Dillingham helped Morales to retain his hold on the Dominican government with the definite intention of having a willing instrument after these elections were over? Commenting on the reception of the letter, Roosevelt wrote Root on June 7 that it contained "the simplest common sense, and only the fool or the coward can [could] treat it as aught else . . .". "If we are willing to let Germany or England act as the policeman of the Caribbean", he said,

then we can afford not to interfere when gross wrong-doing occurs. But if we intend to say "Hands off" to the powers of Europe, sooner or later we must keep order ourselves.<sup>24</sup>

In the Dominican case the reference to England seems almost unwarranted; and owing to the complicated world situation it might have been possible for the United States to have kept the European powers from intervening without intervening itself in the Dominican Republic. Roosevelt, however, appears never to have given this possibility serious consideration.

Roosevelt's Annual Message of December 6, 1904, contained the formal pronouncement of his famous corollary. The Dominican Republic was not specifically mentioned, but it is clear that he had that republic in mind. He said:

<sup>24</sup> Letters quoted by Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1931), pp. 294-295. See also *New York Times*, May 21, 1904.

. . . All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt Amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all questions of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end. . . . It is a mere truism to say that every nation . . . which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.<sup>25</sup>

In this message and in his two letters to Root, Roosevelt placed exclusive emphasis upon the support of the Monroe Doctrine and therefore upon defense strategy, if one may assume that the fundamental motive back of the doctrine is self-defense. He continued to insist that the maintenance of the doctrine was one of the motives in his Dominican policy, but he sometimes shifted the emphasis to two other motives: the support of the economic interests of citizens of the United States and an altruistic desire to be of service to the inhabitants of the small Caribbean republic. Perhaps without realizing that he was engaging in a type of imperialism, he renounced imperialism, or thought he was renouncing it, by declaring repeatedly that he did not have the slightest intention of annexing the small country in question or any other.

<sup>25</sup>James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, (11 vols., Washington, 1911), IX, 7053-7054.

In his somewhat rambling message of February 15, 1905, transmitting the protocol of February 7 to the senate, he stressed two motives and alluded to a third; namely, national security, economic interest, and benevolence. With respect to the European danger he said:

The Dominican debt owed to European creditors is about \$22,000,000. . . . The representatives of European governments have several times approached the Secretary of State, setting forth the wrongs and intolerable delays to which they have been subjected at the hands of the successive governments of Santo Domingo in the collection of their just claims, and intimating that unless the Dominican Government should receive some assistance from the United States in the way of regulating its finances, the creditor governments in Europe would be forced to resort to more effective measures of compulsion to secure the satisfaction of their claims.

. . . If . . . any such action should be taken by them, the only method to enable them to secure the payment of their claims would be to take possession of the custom-houses, and considering the state of the Dominican finances this would mean a definite and very possibly permanent occupation of Dominican territory, for no period could be set to the time . . . required for the payment of their obligations and unliquidated claims. The United States Government could not interfere to prevent such seizure and occupation of Dominican territory without itself proposing some feasible alternative in the way of action, or else virtually saying to European governments that they would not be allowed to collect their claims. This [namely, the latter] would be an unfortunate attitude for the Government of the United States to be forced to maintain at present.

In 1903 a representative of a foreign government proposed to the United States the joint fiscal control of the Dominican Republic by certain creditor nations. . . . The United States Government declined to approve or to enter into such an arrangement. But it has now become evident that decided action of some kind can not be much longer delayed. . . . A definite refusal of the United States . . . to take any effective action looking to the relief of the Dominican Republic and to the discharge of its own duty under the Monroe Doctrine can only be considered as an acquiescence in some such action by another government.



Thus Roosevelt dwelt upon the threat to the Monroe Doctrine and presumably to the security of the United States. But his allusions are indefinite: "representatives of European governments" and "a representative of a foreign government" did so and so. He must have been referring to France, Italy, and possibly Belgium. Did diplomatic decorum prevent him from calling their names, or did he desire his constituents to think of the German menace?

In the passage just quoted, Roosevelt referred to the "duty" of the United States "under the Monroe Doctrine". He had also used the word "duty" in his letter of May 20, 1904, to Root; and near the beginning of this message to the senate he pointed out that the doctrine involved "certain responsibilities". He was definitely expanding the functions of the doctrine. Formerly, it represented merely an effort to regulate the conduct of Europe in respect to America; now, he was proposing to regulate the conduct of certain states of America with regard to Europe. Coercion of these states was what he really had in mind, but he was careful now in his selection of terminology. In his note of June 7, 1904, he had used the word "policeman", and in his first announcement of his corollary in December, 1904, he employed the expression "international police power". But in his communication with the senate he was merely granting "assistance" and administering "relief".

In fact, he insisted that he was not proposing to do anything that had not been requested by the Dominican authorities:

Again and again has the Dominican Government invoked on its own behalf the aid of the United States. It has repeatedly done so of recent years. . . . In this case, fortunately, the prudent and far-seeing statesmanship of the Dominican Government has relieved us of all trouble. At their [its] request we have entered into the agreement herewith submitted.

Did he not realize that no plebescite had been held? Did he not know that officers of the navy were partially respon-

sible for placing Carlos F. Morales in power and maintaining his government? Did the secretary of the navy send from five to seven war vessels to the ports of the Dominican Republic to aid the Improvement Company in the occupation of the customs houses without informing his chief? Had the state department, under the management of his good friend, John Hay, failed to inform him that the idea of customs control by the United States was first conceived by the agents of the government at Washington?

Roosevelt did not conceal, however, in this message to the senate, his desire "to foster American enterprise and the growth of our commerce". Expressing concern with reference to the "growing tendency on the part of other governments more and more to aid diplomatically in the enforcement of the claims of their subjects", he remarked that citizens of the United States would be handicapped by lack of equivalent support in this international competition, and that "American claims and interests in the island were in danger of being sacrificed to those of European nationals". He also pointed out that "chronic disorders prevailing in Santo Domingo" were imperiling "the interests of Americans holding property in that country". And again, speaking of the possible courses his government might follow, he remarked:

It can not with propriety say that it will protect its own citizens and interests on the one hand, and yet on the other hand refuse to allow other governments to protect their citizens and interests.<sup>26</sup>

It never occurred to him to propose that all alien investors in the Dominican Republic be left to shift for themselves.

In his special message of March 6, 1905, he pointed out that the Dominican Republic, at whose special request the treaty had been negotiated, would be the primary beneficiary, but that it would also benefit the United States and all "honest creditors".

<sup>26</sup> Roosevelt's message of February 15, 1905, is printed in *For. Rel.* (1905), pp. 334-342.

Santo Domingo grievously needs the aid of a powerful and friendly nation. . . . She has asked for this aid, and the expressions of friendship repeatedly sanctioned by the people and Government of the United States warrant her in believing that it will not be withheld in the hour of her need.<sup>27</sup>

The emphasis was being shifted.

In an address delivered on August 11 at the Chautauqua in New York he appealed to the mind and sentiments of the average man. Among other things he said:

We cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident in the first place that we do not intend to treat it . . . as an excuse for aggrandizement on our part at the expense of the republics to the south of us; second, that we do not intend to permit it to be used by any of these republics as a shield to protect that republic from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations; third, that inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister republics, which need such help, upward toward peace and order.

On this occasion, motives of strategy and benevolence were stressed, but the latter was emphasized to such an extent that its discussion occupied more than half of the speech. We must "help upward our weaker brothers"; nations must "recognize the duty of bearing one another's burdens"; we must give "the people of Santo Domingo the same chance to move upward and onward which we have already given to the people of Cuba". "Every consideration of wise policy, and, above all, every consideration of large generosity, bids us meet the request of Santo Domingo as we are now trying to meet it".<sup>28</sup>

Evidently he was being impressed more and more with this benevolent phase of the problem. "Most of what I have done in connection with . . . Santo Domingo," he wrote Henry Cabot Lodge on September 14, "has been on an exclusively altruistic

<sup>27</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, IX, 7080-7081.    <sup>28</sup> New York Times, August 12, 1905.



basis."<sup>29</sup> In his annual message of December 5, 1905, he returned to the theme, following rather closely the outline of his Chautauqua address, but giving a little more attention to strategy and the welfare of claimants and investors. He referred to the safeguarding of the Panama Canal and declared that two nations were on the point of intervention when he decided to establish the customs receivership. And with reference to his procedure he said:

It is of benefit to our people; it is of benefit to foreign peoples; and most of all it is of benefit to the people of the country concerned.<sup>30</sup>

But all of his exhortations failed to convince the senators. They were unmoved by benevolence, fear of European intervention, concern for vested interests, or expansionist impulses. It became necessary for Roosevelt to take action, if at all, by means of an executive agreement which ignored the Solons.

The events immediately preceding the setting up of the *modus vivendi* of April 1, 1905, were described by an eye witness: A. E. Coulter, manager of the Habanero Lumber Company with its home office in Richmond, Virginia. And this account of the initiation of the Dominican customs receivership will terminate with a summary of the testimony of this not entirely impartial observer.

Coulter said that when news of the senate's adjournment on March 18, 1905, without ratifying the Dominican protocol reached the Caribbean republic, the greatest anxiety was felt. News of the failure of ratification inspired the insurgents to renewed activity against the Morales government, and representatives of foreign creditors prepared to resume their rights. An Italian war vessel was recalled to demand two customs houses to be administered by Italian claimants. At this critical juncture, Coulter proposed to a certain Mr. Bancalari, the recognized representative of Italy's creditors, that the

<sup>29</sup> *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (2 vols., New York, 1925), II, 201.

<sup>30</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, X, 7375-7378.

Dominican Republic appoint a citizen of the United States, whose name should be accepted by President Roosevelt, to take control of all the customs receipts and apportion them between the Dominican government and foreign claimants. Bancalari said he would accept such an arrangement and immediately went with Coulter to the home of President Morales, where within a few moments they secured his approval and promise of coöperation. Coulter and Bancalari then visited the Belgian minister and the German and Spanish consuls and obtained their approbation, whereupon the Italian and the American lumberman hastened to Minister Dawson and laid the matter before him. Dawson soon consented to recommend the plan to Washington,<sup>31</sup> and it was essentially this arrangement that Roosevelt adopted—a general receiver of customs and his agents, mostly citizens of the United States, backed actually or potentially by the United States Navy.

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<sup>31</sup> State Department Archives, Miscellaneous Letters. A. E. Coulter to Elihu Root, March 13, 1906. T. C. Dawson, in his letter of March 27, 1905, to the secretary of state, tells essentially the same story, but assumes the credit of the negotiation for himself, as is natural since he was the diplomat in charge (*For. Rel.*, 1905, pp. 355-359).

## CONFEDERATE MIGRATION TO MEXICO

After the termination of the War between the States, many of the men who had been fighting for the Confederacy determined to leave their native land. A few prominent families, like the Benjamins and the Slidells, went to England and France never to return. Others went to Cuba, Jamaica, Yucatan, Honduras, and Venezuela, but Brazil and Mexico attracted by for the largest proportion of southern emigrants. The exact number of southerners who sought new homes and fortunes in foreign lands will never be known; nevertheless, the migration was sufficiently important to warrant more attention than has, hitherto, been accorded it.

After the movement of voluntary exile was well under way, the editors of southern papers gave the adventurers "frequent warning that a positive decision would prove perilous" and sounded a word of caution.<sup>1</sup> Among the many papers that opposed the movement were the *Charleston Daily Courier*, the *Charleston Daily News*, the *Raleigh Standard*, the *New Orleans Times*, the *Daily True Delta*, and the *Crescent* of New Orleans, the *Alabama State Journal* and the *Daily Register* of Mobile, and others.

It was perhaps fortunate that notes of caution were sounded on every side, for this led those who could not be deterred from making the adventure to exercise greater precaution in formulating their plans. In this manner the exodus was robbed of some of its precipitateness, if not of some of its radicalness. As is usual in such movements, there were a few wiseacres who rushed off in headstrong fashion, but the vast majority who left the country acted after deliberation.<sup>2</sup>

The adventurers launched companies throughout the south to aid in colonization schemes in Brazil and Mexico if suf-

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence F. Hill, "Confederate Exiles to Brazil" in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII (May, 1927), 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (Austin, Texas, 1936), 309-326.



ficient interest warranted the undertakings. These organizations gathered important data and sent out agents to select sites for the settlements. As a rule these locations were made with great care—health, climate, water, soil, accessibility, and attitude of government concerned were all carefully investigated. The agents sent to Brazil exercised more care than those sent to Mexico, but the ex-Confederates, as we shall now observe, were equipped with advanced information.

As there was, however, less organization in the migration to Mexico than in the expedition to Brazil—and perhaps to any other Hispanic American nation—it is exceedingly difficult to determine how many ex-Confederates eventually went to that country. Isolated southerners were to be found in all parts of the empire—on farms, in the seaport towns, and in the villages of the interior. Several ex-Confederates, moreover, attempted to plant colonies within various sections and provinces of the empire. Bryant of Arkansas established a colony in Chihuahua; Mitchel, of Missouri, another on the Rio Verde in the province of San Luis Potosi; Terry of Texas, another in Jalisco; and Soulé and Gwin promoted a similar project in Sonora.<sup>3</sup> In the Córdova Valley at Carlotta, General Sterling Price made the most vigorous and concentrated effort of them all.

General Price selected the Córdova Valley for his project because the lands in the locality selected by him had already been abandoned. A number of haciendas in that neighborhood had become indebted to the church for more than they were worth and had been confiscated by the Juárez government. These lands were expropriated by Emperor Maximilian and applied to colonization.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Message and Documents; Papers relating to foreign Affairs accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the second Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress* (Washington, 1867-1868), part 2, p. 491, part 3, p. 210. Hereafter this will be cited as *Diplomatic Correspondence*. See Amos A. Ettinger, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855* (New Haven, 1932), p. 473.

Since there are so few references to these undertakings it is probably safe to say that they attracted fewer settlers from the southern part of the United States than that at Carlotta.

<sup>4</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, p. 491.

The valley of Córdoba is located in the beautiful mountain region of Mexico sixty-five miles from Vera Cruz and has an elevation from eight hundred to several thousand feet above sea level. The climate is excellent, the rainfall not excessive, and the land extremely fertile. Since agriculture was to be the main pursuit and occupation of the southern emigrant, a more ideal location for planting a permanent colony could hardly have been found in all Mexico.

The leaders in this gigantic undertaking came from well-to-do southern families who had been slaveowners prior to the war, had owned large plantations, and had moved within the best circles of southern society. They had earlier held, moreover, high government positions, both military and political, in the United States, and later in the Confederacy. Among the sponsors of this colonizing enterprise are to be found such names as generals J. B. Magruder of Virginia, Sterling Price of Missouri, M. F. and R. H. Maury of Virginia, D. Leadbeater of Alabama, ex-Governor Isham G. Harris of Tennessee and several others scarcely less prominently identified with the southern cause.<sup>5</sup>

These men entered enthusiastically upon the tasks involved in this hazardous undertaking. They were filled with high hopes of planting successfully a congenial group of southerners in a foreign country where good fellowship could be enjoyed by all; and where their lost fortunes could more quickly and easily be forgotten or retrieved. Circulars and pamphlets were issued setting forth the advantages of this country for emigrants.<sup>6</sup> So enthusiastic was the response that, according to reports, as early as September 20, 1865, there were ninety-eight former Confederates in Mexico in search of new homes and new fortunes.<sup>7</sup> Although it was reported in New Orleans in October, 1865, that Maximilian had positively refused to do more for them than for other emi-

<sup>5</sup> *New York Herald*, October 20, 1865.    <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1865.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, October 17, 1865. The majority of these prospective settlers came from Mississippi. The name of each is given, where from, whether married or single, and the date of arrival (*ibid.*, October 18, 1865).

grants, it was nevertheless believed that the emperor really favored immigration in order to develop the natural resources of Mexico, and that he would soon issue a favorable decree on the subject.<sup>8</sup>

The leaders in the colonization project were apparently so enthusiastically optimistic about the enterprise that, according to letters received from Americans at Orizaba, they proudly boasted that stages from Mexico brought each day a fresh contingent of immigrants for Córdova to form agricultural settlements. The great majority of these new settlers hailed from the southern states.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that, according to an earlier report, Maximilian favored immigration in general but would not offer more attractive inducements to the ex-rebels than to others, he appointed at a good salary M. F. Maury, one of the southern leaders from Virginia, honorary counsellor of state and imperial commissioner of colonization. In addition to \$150 for office furniture, he allowed him \$500 annually for expenses, \$100 a month for office rent, one clerk at a salary of \$1200, and \$300 for a private messenger. To further the colonization project, the emperor authorized Maury to appoint seven agents of colonization from the following states and cities of the United States: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Mississippi, California, New Orleans, and Mobile. These agents were to receive \$100 a month as compensation and the further sum of \$300 a year for general expenses. The emperor also appointed J. B. Magruder chief of the land office of colonization at a salary of \$3,000. He, too, was allowed \$150 for office furniture, \$1200 a year for office rent, \$500 for general expenses, and \$300 for a private messenger. Magruder was authorized to estimate the number of engineers and surveyors needed to carry on the work, and the appropriation needed for salaries.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, October 20, 1865.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1865.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1865. On November 18, 1865, M. F. Maury said: "The lands of Mexico have never been surveyed, nor has there been until now a land office" (*Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, p. 212). The *Mexican Times*, June



Maximilian made further attractive offers to these settlers. He arranged by imperial decree that each immigrant should "receive a duly executed title, incommutable, of his landed estate, and a certificate that it is free of mortgage". Upon entering the country he was given a permit to bring all his personal effects in duty free, including his "working and brood animals, seeds, agricultural implements, machines and working tools". To make matters even more attractive, perhaps, to the dissatisfied ex-Confederates, it was further decreed that those

who may desire to bring laborers with them, or induce them to come in considerable numbers, of any race whatever, are authorized to do so, but those laborers will be subject to special protective regulations.

Such a stipulation might induce the former slaveholders to bring their ex-slaves with them to serve as peons, since slavery was forbidden in the empire. If the foreigner so desired, he might be naturalized as soon as he had established himself within his chosen community. Furthermore,

immigration agents shall be appointed, who will be paid by the government, and whose duty it will be to protect the arrival of immigrants, and instal them on the lands assigned them, and assist them in every possible manner in establishing themselves.<sup>11</sup>

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16, 1866, carried the following encouraging account of the colonization enterprise: "We are glad to learn from those of our countrymen who have lately had business to transact with his excellency Sr. Somera, minister [of] Fomento, in relation to immigration, that there is as much activity in the acquisition and surveys of lands for colonization as has ever been known on the part of the government; that the policy of encouraging immigration is earnestly adhered to, and that many and very desirable lands have recently been obtained for that purpose. Messrs. Robert Laurence, Hardeman, and McClausland have been employed to make extensive surveys, and already there are several efficient parties in the field engaged in this operation." *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-206. "Under the laws of the Empire all persons of color are free by the mere act of touching Mexican soil. They may make contracts with the employer who has engaged, or may engage them, by which such employer shall bind himself to feed, clothe, and lodge them, and give them medical attendance, and also pay them a sum of money according to whatever agreements they may enter into with him; moreover, he shall deposit in the savings bank hereinafter mentioned, for the benefit of the laborer, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of his

The lands offered for colonization were divided into three classes:

First. Those that are of the public domain and have never been reduced to cultivation.—Second. Those that have been more or less improved as haciendas, the right to dispose of which the government has acquired either by purchase or otherwise.—Third. Private lands and haciendas, the owners of which are disposed to offer them to immigrants on liberal terms for colonization. Many haciendas that are or have been under cultivation may be bought on easy terms and for less than one dollar per acre.<sup>12</sup>

In further explanation Maximilian said:

It is the policy of the government to encourage settlement upon private as well as public lands: and the same rights, privileges, and exemptions are offered to immigrants who may settle upon the former as are granted to those who settle upon the latter.—Lands of class first [public lands] are offered in alternate sections, as donations to actual settlers, and in quantities varying from 160 acres for a single man, to 640 for the heads of families, . . .

Immigrants are . . . divided into two classes, A and B. The former being those alluded to, who by misfortune have lost all their substance; and the latter, those who are less straightened in their means.—Not only a free passage by sea is offered to class A, but when they arrive in the country, a travelling allowance of ten cents the league thence to their new homes will be made for each member of their families, counting as members, also, their apprentices. Lands of class first [public lands] will be donated to those immigrants by alternate sections, viz: 160 acres to a single man and 320 to a man with a family, with pre-emption right to as much more in each case.—Immigrants of class A, who, after arriving in the country, may prefer to settle upon haciendas or other lands, are at liberty to do so; but in that case they may be required to refund, with interest, the money that may have been advanced in assisting them to their new domiciles.

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wages. The laborer shall, on his part, obligate himself to his employer to perform the labor for which he was employed, for a term of not less than five, nor more than ten years.' *Ibid.*, p. 20. These quotations are taken from the decree of Maximilian, September 5, 1865.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207. These are regulations and stipulations made by the Minister of Fomento with the approval of Maximilian.

—Immigrants of class B, who are those that can afford to pay their own expenses, have the whole country before them. They may establish themselves wherever they can find suitable and available lands. If they prefer the unimproved lands of the public domain, they also can have them free, in alternate sections, but only for actual settlement, at the rate of 320 acres for a single man, and 640 to a man with a family, with a pre-emption right to as much more in each case.—These donations of land to persons, whether of class A or B, are made on condition and with the understanding that they shall in good faith, proceed forthwith to occupy, subdue, and cultivate the lands so donated.<sup>13</sup>

Should immigrants come in groups, the government further promised them religious freedom, together with sufficient improved land free of rent within the vicinity selected for colonization purposes, to be used for their common benefit until they could clear their own land and get it ready for cultivation.

This reserve or common is ultimately intended for educational purposes, and after the first years, a ground rent of ten per cent upon the value of the land, but not of the improvements will be made.<sup>14</sup>

The most attractive inducement to the war-weary southerner, perhaps, was the exemption from military conscription for five years. He was allowed, moreover, to bring in his arms free of duty, and, with his neighbors, to form a militia for natural defense against robbers. The emperor further, as suggested above, promised toleration for the Protestant churches and schools that might be established throughout the empire. He even promised endowments of land for the support of schools and colleges.<sup>15</sup>

In order to facilitate the colonization movement, agents for immigration will be stationed at convenient points abroad, for the purpose of affording information to the emigrant there, as to this country, its lands, the best way of reaching them, and upon all other subjects pertaining thereto.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 488, 494.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 208.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, part 3, p. 208.



The imperial commissioner of colonization, M. F. Maury, and Sub-Commissioner Richard L. Maury, appointed eight agents to the different southern states and cities as authorized by Maximilian to aid and encourage settlers to come to the ex-Confederate settlements in Mexico. The excellent plan devised by the emperor and Maury was in a measure thwarted by the United States government, however, in forbidding Mexican colonization agents to enter the country.<sup>17</sup> Literature, nevertheless, was distributed throughout the south telling of the activities of the American settlers in their newly adopted country and urging others to start life anew by joining them in their Mexican project.

The imperial commissioner of colonization, M. F. Maury, published in the Mexican *Times*, a paper edited by ex-Governor Henry W. Allen of Louisiana, a circular letter advising the people who had land to sell and who desired to encourage immigration to offer their land for sale through the colonization office. The government promised to have such lands surveyed and advertised to the public without any charge whatsoever to the owner, provided the lands were suitable for colonization.<sup>18</sup> Thus both private and public lands were offered to settlers. Private lands were more attractive, as a rule, because they were already cleared and ready for cultivation and sugar plantations could be purchased cheaply; whereas uncleared land cost from \$5 to \$6 to clear, enclose, and bring under cultivation. Hence it was much cheaper for a person with a little money to buy an hacienda with ground already cleared, fenced, and a house ready for occupancy than to purchase government lands that had never been cultivated.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214. A letter of Richard L. Maury to James M. Payne, of Nashville, Tennessee, February 17, 1866. The agents of the Mexican colonization office in the South were arrested and required to give up their office. *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 488.

<sup>18</sup> New York *Herald*, November 2, 1865. Taken from the Mexican *Times*, October 14, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 492.

With ex-Confederate colonels and generals holding high imperial positions, southern colonists naturally supported the Maximilian régime. With the strong support of France, the emperor seemed to be firmly established in power. No serious obstacle, therefore, stood in the way of the ex-Confederates. Nevertheless, the activities of the imperial government's southern agents, in advertising the advantages of that country to settlers, urging the dissatisfied southerners to colonize there, and promising free passage to the needy, secured the hostility of the United States government and likewise the hatred of the Mexican liberals too.

According to many reports, enthusiasm for the Confederate project in Mexico continued throughout the fall of 1865. Some of them, however, were discouraging. One of the most enthusiastic that reached the United States was made through the New York *Herald* correspondent in January, 1866. This report, though long, is worth quoting:

On my arrival at Vera Cruz I learned from an American merchant of the city that a dozen or so of rebels had located themselves at a little above Cordova, and that each arrival brought some Southern family for their place of settlement. What he told me of their mode of life, of their system of labor, of the country in which they were settling, of the fine prospect they had before them, excited my curiosity to the highest degree. . . . The stage,<sup>20</sup> or rather the wagon had just reached the top of a small hill, when I saw in the plain extending before me a few tents scattered here and there, and at about five hundred yards a cluster of a dozen unfinished houses pleasantly situated along a brook lined with a row of trees and plants. "What is this?" said I to my conductor who was then whistling a Confederate tune. "This", said he, "is General Sterling Price's settlement. Here are his tents and those of his friends, and here the foundation of a city which, ere long, will be as large as Richmond or New Orleans".

"A city!" exclaimed I. I had no idea that a city could be built up in so short a time, General Price having settled here in the month

<sup>20</sup> The correspondent, whose name is not revealed, was from New York. He spent the night at Córdoba and the next morning was driven to Carlotta by a wooden legged ex-Confederate soldier.

of August, only four months ago. "And pray what is the name of this rival of Richmond and New Orleans?"

"The name of this city", said he gravely, "is Carlotta, a compliment to the Empress, whom we all love and admire, and for whom we are ready at any moment to shed what remains of Confederate blood in this and the other country, if necessary", added he, with a defiant gesture.

A quarter of an hour after my companion landed me in front of a straw roofed, low built, massive cottage, the outside of which had not yet been plastered, and which was far from being finished inside. "Here is General Price's house", said the driver, "but as it is not finished yet, he lives still under his tent, which he has pitched under the orange grove yonder".

On my way thither I saw a lot of Mexicans who were engaged in moulding and drying up to the sun large bricks, about half a yard square, and which appeared to me as hard as stones. The clay used in the manufacture of this building material is mixed up with a kind of vegetable hair, which makes it lighter and stronger. When your bricks are dry all you have to do is to pile them up, one upon the other, by means of a hard cement which is made in the country, and to cover up your structure with a peculiar kind of long and thick straw, stronger and lighter than shingle. If you add to this, a little plastering outside and a little stucco inside, you have as comfortable and nice a cottage as you may desire. . . . When our colony will be congregated on this spot, we will have as nice a little city as any in the South or New England.

"All these details", continued the correspondent, were given to me by the one-legged Confederate, who was amused at my surprise, and delighted to see me more attentive than I had been since our acquaintance began.<sup>21</sup>

As the correspondent approached General Price's tent, the entrance of which was open, he saw the old warrior seated at a table with his head resting on one of his hands in a contemplative attitude. Upon realizing that a stranger was in his midst, Price instantly rose to his feet and greeted him in a cordial and enthusiastic manner. He said to the correspond-

<sup>21</sup> *New York Herald, Supplement, January 12, 1866.*



ent in a familiar way: "Ah, my dear fellow, I am glad to see you. From St. Louis, I suppose?—Are you coming here to settle and to be one of us?"

Upon receiving a negative answer, General Price said:

Well I am sorry to hear you refuse to become one of us, on my own account as well as yours. I do not believe that a man of mature years, like you, can do better than settle down in the midst of this magnificent country and turn farmer. I have been here four or five months, and all I have seen and heard goes to convince me that this is really the land of promises, I have here six hundred and forty acres which I would not exchange for any twelve hundred acres in any part of the United States. What you have seen already must convince you that I do not exaggerate. Where will you find a richer soil and a healthier climate than this? Not in any part of the world. The patriarchs alone could boast of such advantages. Here a man can live under his tent from the wool of his sheep and from the fruits of the earth without being compelled to lift up either the shovel or the hoe; but as we are in an age of civilization, and as we have contracted habits of luxury and all sorts of fictitious wants, we must plough, hoe and turn the soil up side down, for we have not only the appetites of our natures to satisfy, but we have to work for others and to create wealth, the effect of which benefits the whole world.<sup>22</sup>

General Price also gave some particulars of the better known Confederates who had settled in the vicinity of Córdoba. He said that Governor Harris's plantation was close to his, that General Ewell, General Shelby, and other officers of distinction were among his nearest neighbors. These gentlemen had sent for their families, who were then, he supposed, on their way to join them; he was going to send for his own family as soon as the house he was building in Carlotta City was ready for occupancy. He further said that the ground on which that city was raised had been given by him, and he had the satisfaction to see that his gift was appreciated, and that immigrants were fast flocking to that spot.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, January 12, 1866. General Price also said while eating dinner that he had 460 pounds of documents about the army of the trans-Mississippi. *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

General Price conversed five hours with the New York correspondent upon the wonders of the Córdova Valley and the progress of the city of Carlotta. The general showed him several fields which he had planted—some with coffee trees, and some with tobacco. Some of the land was in cultivation when he bought it, and he affirmed that he had already exported coffee to the value of £5,000, and, in addition, tobacco, beans, cattle, horses, sweet potatoes, and fruits. Price used Mexican field hands whom he paid at the rate of 3 and 4 shillings a day in silver.<sup>24</sup>

When asked if he were not afraid that his schemes would be upset and the city sacked by the liberals under the Juarist leadership, who were waging war against Maximilian, or that the former might form an alliance with the United States, Price replied that these possibilities had been considered but were counted as nothing. In other words he believed that Maximilian would remain emperor of Mexico. He said that “the Napoleon family is not in the habit of backing down in the accomplishment of its schemes”. Besides, France is bound to Prince Maximilian by treaties and promises which it cannot give up without compromising its national prestige and honor. Before it would back down it would secure the coöperation of other nations. “Every friend of the Empire”, said General Price, “trusts in these considerations, which are, in their estimation, sufficient to discard any appearance of danger on the part of the United States”. If, however, the United States interfered in Mexican affairs it would arouse Mexican nationalism and unite the two factions.<sup>25</sup>

By the spring of 1866, the beautiful valley of Córdova contained possibly five thousand inhabitants including a regiment of French and Austrian soldiers, and from one hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and fifty Americans. The latter by no means represented all the Americans who sought refuge in Mexico; there were something like 2,300 additional Confederates scattered throughout the empire.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1866.    <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Among the expatriates in Mexico were three former members of the Richmond Congress—Senator Oldham of Texas, Judge Perkins of Louisiana, and Wilkes of Missouri. “Members of the House Conrow and Parsons of Missouri were murdered by the Mexicans in the summer of 1865 at Toro, between Monterey and Matamoros”. Governor Harris of Tennessee, as previously mentioned, enthusiastically joined the settlement and proceeded at once clearing land and preparing the soil for planting a crop in the following spring. Governors Reynolds of Missouri and Allen were in the City of Mexico—Allen editing the *Times* and Reynolds acting as agent of the American and Mexican Emigrant Company.<sup>27</sup>

According to the New York *Herald*:

Very few Confederate field officers sought refuge in this country, most of the emigrants being line officers and privates, young men without families, and too often without the industry and application needed to insure success in any new country. Major General Sterling Price is at Carlotta, Brigadier General Shelby has a splendid hacienda four miles from Cordova, on the Vera Cruz road; Major General Waterhouse is a contractor on the railroad, and Brig. Gen. Lyon is at the head of a surveying party near Tuxpan. They are the only Confederate generals east of the City of Mexico. Major Gen. Magruder is Surveyor General of the government colonization enterprise, Wilcox talks of returning to the States, and Hindman of going to Yucatan. These are all residing in the city. Brigadier General Slaughter of the old army is interested in mills in the valley and Hardman of Texas is surveying on the Pacific slope of the mountains. Of all these General Shelby is the most energetic and enterprising, and consequently his prospects are more flattering than any other American's in the country. Besides working in his hacienda, he runs large wagon trains from the railroad terminus at Paso del Macho to the City. His wagons are all of Yankee manufacture, are drawn by ten mules each, and every wagon carries a load of 6 to 7,000 pounds, the freight of which is from 300 to 350 dollars. Major General Jubal Early passed through this city [Córdoba] yesterday enroute for Havana, where he will probably locate, as he had become much dissatisfied with Mexico. He is writing a history of his campaigns,

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*



which can hardly fail to prove interesting, even if it be not entirely reliable. Gen. Bee is a ship broker in Havana, in which place Toombs is temporarily residing, astonishing the natives with his yarns and disgusting the Confederates with his blowing. Commodore Maury recently went to France after his family; but it is very probable that he will remain in Europe, as latterly he has been out of favor with Maximilian. Judge Perkins was formerly one of the largest cotton planters in the United States, and secured a portion of his wealth before leaving Louisiana. He has a small coffee plantation adjoining this city and is about opening another at Carlotta. Judge Perkins is the only Confederate, except Kirby Smith and staff, who brought with him any considerable amount of means; the others are poor, and are obliged to get their living as best they can. The gentlemen mentioned with one or two exceptions have gone to work with a determination to retrieve that bodes success; they are industrious and energetic, bearing the trials and tribulations to which they are subject with rare courage and equanimity, never once reverting to the sacrifices which they made to the cause which they espoused and whose downfall proved their own ruin. Judge Oldham, formerly Chief Justice of Texas, has turned photographer and is in business in this city. The Judge has also turned author, and is engaged upon the last sheets of a work entitled, "A History of A Journey from Richmond to the Rio Grande, from March 30 to June 26, 1865, or the Last Days of the Confederate States". This book will cause a commotion as soon as published, and will doubtless involve its author in half a dozen fights. The Judge institutes an inquiry into the causes that led to the overthrow of the Confederacy, and traces them to the incompetency and wilfulness of Davis, and the corruption which, if not connived at, suffered to exist unrebuked in all departments of government. He is unsparing in his exposé, which his position as a member of the Senate gave him ample opportunities of making. He lashes certain cabinet members severely (also gen. officers) and does not spare *Pres. Johnson* or federal commanders. The book will prove vastly popular from its independence as well as from its general character, and be a valuable assistant to future historians.<sup>28</sup>

Most of the organized American settlers lived around Carlotta, a new village, as we have seen, laid out by the colonists,

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

and named in honor of the empress. Carlotta was located nine miles southeast from Córdoba, in a splendid country, and by April, 1866, boasted of but three houses or rather bamboo huts, yet five or six others were in the course of construction. The best and largest house, containing two rooms, belonged to General Price, built of bamboo, thatched with flag and stalks.

A grove of Mango trees near the casa afford a cool and inviting retreat for the old soldier, and here he may be found at all hours, seated upon a chair of his own manufacture, entertaining his numerous guests, giving advice to the settlers, cracking jokes with old companions in arms, or giving orders respecting the cultivation of his plantation. Everything is of the most primitive description, the tables and chairs being the General's own handwork. Gen. Price is not a little of a Yank, and is about as ingenious and handy as any New Englander. Gov. Harris and the General are inseparable companions, living together until the Governor's house shall be completed.<sup>29</sup>

The town of Carlotta was systematically laid out around a large square,

which is covered by a natural growth of trees, among which is a grove of mangoes, the most beautiful shade trees, whose interlacing boughs and thick, glossy foliage completely exclude the sun's rays, affording a delightful retreat during the heat of the day. . . . In a few years, Carlotta will be the most pleasant town in Mexico. It will be built after American style, with a degree of beauty and comfort elsewhere unknown in the empire and the society will be formed from the best educated families of the South and West. The first and only American lady in the town is the wife of Dr. Wharton of Va. Gen. Price's family is expected to arrive in the next steamer within a few weeks.<sup>30</sup>

Certain inducements allured many dissatisfied and adventurous ex-Confederates to the Mexican Empire. Each unmarried member of the colony received one town lot, and every married member was allowed two lots. In addition the colonists who were heads of families, as we have seen, were al-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

lowed a section of land or 640 acres, single men were entitled to one half that amount—the land to be located at the will or choice of the settler.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, other things being equal, there is no greater inducement perhaps to immigration than extremely cheap, well watered, and productive soil, a beautiful country, a marvelous climate free from extremely cold and hot weather, together with a well organized, liberal, and stable government. All of these attractions, except a stable government, Mexico had to offer.

There is no doubt that the soil in the Córdoba Valley was extremely fertile, well watered, and with a little care exceedingly productive. This fact was soon recognized by General Price who busied himself in preparing for the production of coffee, corn, and tobacco.

He is an old tobacco raiser and thinks he can show the natives a thing or two in his line. The tobacco is of superior quality, similar to that of Havana, and if properly cured will bring equally as high price. No pains is taken here either in cultivation, cutting, or curing, and General Price intends to adopt the best methods, being confident of placing in [the] market an article equal in every respect to the most celebrated of the Cuban weed. He has sent to the States for presses and machinery and will also enter into the manufacture of chewing tobacco, much to the gratification of his American neighbors, who are almost inconsolable over the deprivation of their favorite luxury.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the fact that the Córdoba Valley was pictured as the most favored spot in the world, and rewarded labor with lavish returns, the colonists lacked men of means, energy, and ambition. Those individuals who migrated to Mexico expecting to live off the fruits of nature without labor quickly returned to the United States dissatisfied and gave a distorted impression of the country itself. As a matter of fact, little

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* Land prices varied from a few cents to a few dollars according to locality and fertility but at Carlotta land usually sold for \$1 an acre. See *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, pp. 492, 494.

<sup>32</sup> New York *Herald*, April 19, 1866.



more than half the southerners who went to Mexico remained and many of them caught the first returning steamer they could reach.<sup>33</sup>

This is no country for drones. A man without money, industry and energy had better hang himself before he starts for Mexico—he will be glad of it afterwards. Mechanics and farmers are needed here; such if willing to work cannot go amiss. Wages are low, compared to what are paid in the states, laborers receiving seventy-five cents and one dollar per day and board; but with this a man can soon secure a home and fortune. Clerks and professional men should by all means avoid Mexico . . . there are no openings for clerks, ministers, or lawyers; and happily for the community a doctor's services are rarely needed in this climate. Forty acres in coffee is a fortune to any man, and there are a dozen other articles that can be raised with little labor, and which will pay 200% more than the best crops that can be raised in the States. But hardships are to be endured here that few colonists are prepared to encounter; therefore, unless they have a little money or a trade and are willing to work, they had better remain where they have friends to help them in case assistance is needed.<sup>34</sup>

The following quotation is taken from a letter written by Benjamin Crowther while in Mexico to J. Calvin Littrell early in 1866:

Presuming a letter from a live rebel that never surrendered, and who preferred exile to degradation, regardless of the acts of other rebels to the contrary, it is with pride and pleasure I take this means of addressing you. . . . On reaching . . . [San Antonio, May 26, 1865] having sufficient evidence that the army had disbanded, and having witnessed and known so much diabolical cruelty and inhumanity of the federal government, I resolved to continue my journey to this country [Mexico] and abandoned the God-forsaken land of the so-called United States—as you are well aware that the word united is only a name and not a fact. . . . Unless I change my mind I shall proceed to Cordova, . . . where I shall locate and cultivate coffee, tobacco, &c. It is estimated from the experience of others that five years, with the cultivation of about eighty to one hundred acres in

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

coffee, will make any man with ordinary skill and attention become immensely wealthy. There is also about 300 different varieties of tropical fruits, and never without vegetables at any season of the year. . . .

At first, on account of the language, my wife thought she never would like to live in the country, but necessity soon forces a person to learn to speak it. We have a female servant, Mexican, we pay five dollars per month. On the 21st January, at 11.40 a.m., my wife was safely delivered of a fine, healthy, rebel child, a little girl, whom we have named Carlotta, after the empress of Mexico, and deservedly so, because she has been and still is the true friend of true confederates.

There appears to be very little known of this country in the United States or other countries—concerning its interior mineral and agricultural wealth; it is far above anything I ever before conceived of, and I must say I have been very agreeably disappointed. I was sorry to see and witness so many confederates come to Mexico with wrong and improper motives; some imagined that they would be forthwith installed into some fat office, like Commodore Maury, and because they were not, and not being disposed to adapt themselves to temporary inconveniences, would not labor, and to their shame went back to the dis-United States, like a dog returning to his vomit; whereas had they been patient, and not tried to force things whether or no, they would, by settling in colonies of twenty-five and fifty families, as is now the case at Cordova, Rio Verde, and other places—they would all have done well and been of mutual assistance to each other. The only temptation that I or any of my family could have to return to the States would be on the occasion of a war with any other power on earth and that of the federal government, in which event you may expect to see me in the service of that army, whatever army it may be.<sup>35</sup>

Since, as has been stressed, the Córdoba settlement lay in an exceedingly fertile country where agricultural products of almost every variety could be produced, tropical or otherwise, and since the climate was so marvelous that a doctor was seldom needed and lawyers could find no business, why did the colony fail?

<sup>35</sup> Letter of Benjamin Crowther to J. Calvin Littrel, St. Louis, Missouri, February 9, 1866. See *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, pp. 212-213.

Many factors contributed toward its failure. In the first place, the colony failed because of the hostile press of the north and south. The leading papers of the north, including the *New York Herald*, *New York Times*, and the *Tribune* were exceedingly critical. Before the colony was two months old, the *New York Herald* published an important article entitled the "Failure of Sterling Price's Rebel-Mexican Colony". The article stated that Secretary Seward was watching the rebels in Mexico with much interest. Seward was reported as being unfriendly to a movement "calculated to drain the South of a large portion of its inhabitants and consequently as being eminently hostile to the prosperity of the Union".<sup>36</sup> The *Herald* further reported that the representative of Mexico in Washington had been advised that the colony had been "broken to pieces and that most of the settlers" had left their lands, saying "they had been deceived. Fifteen of them only have remained at Córdova where the colony is located".<sup>37</sup>

Six weeks later the same paper carried another article entitled, "Miserable Condition of Emigrants from the United States". In reporting the contents of the circular issued by Maury setting forth the advantages of Mexico for emigrants, the *Herald* said:

We say again let not the people in the United States who want to make a fortune be deceived. This is not the place for them. The "advantage of the country to emigrants" is a spade in the hand on the railroad with very poor pay. The "*Pobre diablos*" who have been deceived, induced to come out here, and who have no money and are wretched, almost begging in some instances for food to eat, are experiencing the "advantages of the country to emigrants."<sup>38</sup>

When the colony was just about three months old, the *New York Times* carried an article entitled, "Interview with Seedy Southern Exiles—Failure of Southern Emigration Scheme". "At Córdova", continued the *Times*,

<sup>36</sup> *New York Herald*, November 19, 1865.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1865.



we had a look at some of those great and mighty Southerners who have sold four thousand Southern families to the empire. The Emperor, however, begins to smell a rat, and begins to see that Maury, Price, and Magruder have humbugged him. The four thousand families have not been delivered according to bargain—not even one thousand, not even one hundred, not even fifty. The poor fellows looked seedy enough and I could not help pitying them as they in turn mounted a poor down-trodden pony. They had one horse between four. Indeed the ways of a sinner are hard.<sup>39</sup>

The southern papers, as previously stated, were likewise hostile to the colonization scheme and printed very little information relating to the Córdoba settlement. If one of the home town boys joined the colony, a note might be found to that effect and if he later sent a letter to the editor telling about the colony that too would be printed, but the editor frequently advised all Southerners to remain in the southland where opportunities awaited them. Such important papers as the *Richmond Inquirer*, the *Raleigh Standard*, and the *Charleston Daily Courier* carried very little information about the progress of the colony, but frequently reprinted articles from the New York papers that not only discouraged emigration, but gave discrediting accounts of the settlements. The southern papers naturally did not encourage southerners to migrate, for the south needed all of its white inhabitants. The plantations that once blossomed as a result of slave labor were now idle and would soon grow up into bushes and forests unless these lands were divided into small farms and sold to those who were willing to work them. Farmers, mechanics, millers, watchmakers, and various other workers were likewise needed. The south, therefore, could not afford to let its sons of the soil depart for foreign lands. It not only felt that it must keep the population it possessed but advertised in the United States and abroad through the leading papers of the nation, through circulars and pamphlets in order to encourage domestic and foreign immigration. Bureaus of immigration

<sup>39</sup> *New York Times*, January 19, 1866.

were established in South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee to aid and encourage people to seek homes in the sunny south. Immigration agents, sent abroad to advertise the south, distributed circulars and pamphlets (printed in various languages) which described in glowing terms the golden opportunities that awaited industrious settlers within the bounds of the different southern states. Vacant lands were listed at the office of the commissioner of immigration, people who desired renters, laborers, mechanics, housekeepers, and the like gave their names to the commissioner or his agents, and the north was urged to fill the desired positions.

In light of this demand on the part of the south to attract settlers, is there any wonder that the southern press gave very little friendly space to the efforts of some ex-Confederates to plant colonies in Mexico and Brazil, and that the Charleston *Daily Courier* in January, 1869, should print the following article?

We want all of our young men here in our own state. Let them look around [and find an honest job and get to work] and they will soon realize the fruits of a spirit that is [not] ashamed of perseverance. . . . What we need in this state is a population. . . . Let every young man determine that he will succeed here, [and to refrain from enlisting in the wild and adventurous colonization schemes in Mexico and Brazil].<sup>40</sup>

An Alabama paper published early in January, 1866, offered the following advice to the dissatisfied ex-Confederates:

For some time past the *Ledger* has been warning persons desiring to migrate to other places, in order to better their fortunes, against the deceptive appeals to induce them to go to Mexico. Our advice to them has been to the effect that they find lands and localities within the United States equal to the best to be found elsewhere, with the additional advantage of remaining in their own country, near to the best markets of the world, always within reach of the comforts of

<sup>40</sup> Charleston *Daily Courier*, January 4, 1869.

civilization, and under a liberal and respected government. These views have recently found a striking support in the views from Mexico. A recent letter from that turbulent country refers to the "advantages to emigrants", as advertised by the rebel Maury and others, and says that the poor fellows who have no money are wretched, and in some cases begging for food.<sup>41</sup>

The Nashville *Press* of December 3, 1867, carried the following account of the return and surrender of ex-Governor Harris of Tennessee:

Yesterday morning ex-Governor Isham G. Harris, accompanied by General Dunlop, called on Governor Brownlow at his room in the Capitol. Governor Harris left Liverpool on the 6th instant, and came directly through from New York, without pausing to pay his respects to his old friend, the President. He was plainly but well dressed, and appeared to be in fine health—a fact which he attributes to the rough-and-tumble and somewhat migratory life which he has led for some years past, during which he has officiated in the various capacities of traveling executive, Confederate Agent, president of the Cordova Colony, and commissioned merchant in London. He greeted Governor Brownlow very courteously and cordially, . . . Harris remarked that he had come to give himself up, and expressed much gratitude for the kind mention which the Governor had made of his family in his message. Governor Brownlow remarked that he would parole him to appear at the spring term of the Federal court in this city.

The ex-Governor showed some feeling when his successor inquired if he had not a poor opinion of his quondam neighbors at Cordova. Harris replied that the Mexicans were the most unprincipled, hollow-hearted vagabonds on the face of the earth. After an experience of several years among the Mexicans of Cordova, and the Europeans, he has wisely concluded that life under the Brownlow despotism is a great deal preferable to a wretched existence, dragged out among either anarchists or monarchists. He left yesterday for his home in Paris, Henry County, [Tennessee], where his family reside.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *The Nationalists* (Mobile, Alabama), January 25, 1866. This quotation was taken apparently from the Montgomery (Ala.) *Ledger*.

<sup>42</sup> Nashville *Press*, December 3, 1867, quoted in the Charleston *Daily Courier, Extra*, December 4, 1867.



A third reason for the failure of the colony was that the majority of the adventurers had lost everything they possessed during the great war that had just come to a close and it required every cent that they could raise to pay the passage to Córdoba. With no money left they were soon reduced to dire poverty and extreme hunger. If the majority had had some surplus capital, even though small, they might have had greater success.

A fourth reason for the failure lay in the colonists themselves. They adopted the methods used by the frontiersmen in the United States in conquering the great West. Whenever they saw fertile lands that they wanted they simply took possession of them by driving off the Indian occupants. For example, it was reported that a party of Confederates who selected some land near the Córdoba Colony, ordered an Indian family occupying it to clear out forthwith; the Indians left but afterward laid their case before the leader of the nearest liberal command. This officer, with about a thousand mounted men, made ready for a forced march to the Córdoba Colony. There he "took twenty-five Americans prisoners and carried them away as hostages for the future good conduct of the remainder. It is understood, furthermore, that the Indian neighbors have given the colonists to understand that they had all better vamoise. For the release of the parties held as hostages, it is said [that] the Liberals demand ten thousand dollars, purely as punishment for the act committed" against the Indians "who were ruthlessly driven from their proper place of habitation. From what we have learned through a friend, General Hindman thought of taking a small armed American force and going in search of the unfortunates with a view to securing their release". Furthermore, "Maury is being greatly talked against now. Many of the Confederates say he deceived them. It is a good thing for him that he left the country".<sup>43</sup>

The ex-Confederates may possibly be excused for their

<sup>43</sup> *New York Herald*, June 8, 1866.

indiscretion in this instance, however, for they believed that the land occupied by the Indian family belonged to the settlement. In addition, several southerners

had entered into an agreement with a number of Indians, or peons, for a certain stated amount of labor, which the latter were bound to perform. It seems, however, that after three months the Indians . . . refused to work any longer. . . . As it was impossible for them to find laborers anywhere else, the withdrawal of their field hands destroyed all hopes of a crop. . . . In this predicament they decided that the only way to save themselves from utter ruin was to compel these Indian laborers to fulfil their contracts, and to use violence in case of resistance.<sup>44</sup>

The liberals, on the other hand, claimed that Maximilian was without authority to grant lands to outsiders;<sup>45</sup> so it is easily seen how a controversy arose. In addition the Indian peons were under contract to work for the settlers.

The Americans seized by the liberals, however, were released after a few weeks and returned home.<sup>46</sup> The colonists, according to the liberals,

brought all their trouble on themselves. In the first place, they had no title to the lands upon which they squatted, and refused to enter into any arrangement for their purchase. Secondly, they neglected the advice of Maximilian not to be violent imperialists; and thirdly the conduct of the party was such that the Liberals were obliged to break up the colony, some of the men attempting to dispossess the old settlers of their homes and two being guilty of worse crimes in connection with the native women. Their indiscretions have effectually broken up the settlement, and for the present put a stop to American colonization. This is the more to be regretted as parties are now engaged in surveying and plotting out land for colonization purposes in the state of San Luis Potosi, and the government offer to settlers of twenty-one thousand acres on the Hacienda of Michopa near Cuernavaca, about 70 miles west of Mexico City.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, pp. 214-215.

<sup>45</sup> *New York Herald*, June 11, 1866.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1866. It was rumored that six of the party were missing and had been captured by a party of guerillas (*Ibid.*).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* Unsettled political conditions in Mexico, however, prevented this settlement from attracting many ex-Confederates.

The seizure by the liberals of the twenty-five Americans as prisoners caused General Price considerable worry and anxiety.

The General is by no means a favorite with the Liberals, who if the opportunity offers itself will give the old Missourian short shrift and a stout rope. This fact Price fully appreciates, and when he heard the Liberals intended to raid Carlotta, mounted his horse in haste and hied him to Cordova, where he begged the Americans there to arm themselves and go to Carlotta, excusing himself from going with them upon the ground that if the Liberals caught him they would send him either to hell or to the United States, and he would as soon go one place as the other.<sup>48</sup>

A fifth reason for the failure of the colony is one that has already been mentioned incidently, namely, the disturbed political conditions within Mexico from 1865 to 1868, throughout the entire life of the colony, arising out of the struggle between Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, and Benito Juárez, leader of the liberal or opposition forces. Although Maximilian desired and encouraged immigration,<sup>49</sup> only a few intrepid and adventurous individuals wished to leave the United States where one of the bloodiest and most destructive civil wars in history had just come to a close and depart for a country where civil wars and revolutions were going on at the time. Gloomy and hopeless as the outlook seemed to ex-Confederates in the United States at the time, it was preferred to that in revolutionary Mexico.

A sixth reason for the failure of the movement is found in the natural antipathy at the time of the Mexicans toward all Americans despite the fact that Seward had used all his official power and position to oust Maximilian. The annexation of Texas and the results of the Mexican War were too fresh in the minds of the vast majority of Mexicans to welcome cordially a colony of American citizens. The United States, the colossus of the north, had already taken possession

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8, 1866.

<sup>49</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 1, 1867.



of half of Mexico and some of its leading statesmen in 1848 had demanded the remainder. Might this not be just another Yankee scheme in disguise?

Since Mexico was divided into two political and military factions it was to be expected that the Americans would incur the enmity of one faction or the other, if not both. Major John Edwards, one of the ex-Confederates who went to Mexico and who was the successor of Governor Allen as editor of the Mexican *Times*, arriving at New Orleans in March, 1867, reported that the evacuation of Mexico by the French was a known fact and that the liberals would soon be in power. He further said:

There is no love for the people of the United States, and the only sympathy for them at all is because they are presumed to represent opposition to the French and to have expressed dislike to them.

The settlement at Cordova is among the things of the past. The departure of General Price, which has been duly chronicled will be followed by almost all who associated with him at Cordova. Judge Perkins has gone to Paris, France. Governor Harris left two weeks ago for Havana. General Shelby still remains in Cordova, and probably will remain for several months to come. . . .

Condition of the country is worse than has been known for twenty years. The main thoroughfare between the city of Mexico and Vera Cruz is interrupted about every fifteen miles, and everything the unlucky passengers possess is taken with a quiet shrug of the shoulders and the polite declaration: *no le [sic: me] importa*, which means that it makes no matter to me.

Beverly Tucker,<sup>50</sup> who is proscribed in the United States, recently traveled from Luis Potosi to the city of Mexico, and was robbed five times. The first time they took his money, the second time his clothes, the third time they tried to get his money, but because he had none they struck him on the head with the sabre, and his son, who was with him received a terrible wound just over the right temple, which came near putting an end to his sight, if not his life. The fourth time the stage in which he had taken passage was attacked and robbed in

<sup>50</sup> Beverly Tucker was the famous Tucker from Virginia who migrated to Mexico and settled upon an hacienda at San Luis Potosí. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 512.

the streets of the city of Mexico, and twenty leagues beyond, towards Vera Cruz, the stage was again stopped, and Beverly Tucker was robbed for the fifth time.

Governor T. C. Reynolds, of Missouri, will remain in the city of Mexico, and see the issue of affairs there, General T. G. Hindman will leave in two weeks for the United States where it is his intention to practice law in Memphis or merchandise in New York.

With the evacuation of Mexico by the French, the rest of the foreigners think it best to leave the country; and those of all nationalities are leaving as fast as steamers will bear them from Vera Cruz.

The great idea in the Mexican mind is to get rid of foreigners, nolens volens; and whether it is the French this year, or the people of the United States next, it makes but little difference to them.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps Escobedo, the man who directed the execution of Maximilian, spoke more frankly in regard to foreigners than any other prominent Mexican of his day. Although subsequently denied by the Mexican authorities, he was quoted as saying:

The execution of the traitors, which I had the satisfaction of directing, is good food for digestion. It will satisfy the Europeans and the Yankees, too, that to trifle with Mexicans is death by the law. Had we complied with the request of the Yankees to spare the filibusterer and his associate traitors it would have been a request to give up our lands, our mines and our women. After this we shall be allowed to worship our God, till our soil, work our own mines, and not have our women defiled by Yankee libertines.

I am now in favor of making clean work of the detested "Gringos". This country belongs to God and us, and just so long as one foreigner remains on our soil, our liberty is in jeopardy. By every means in our power we should make the country Mexican; and as all the property in the hands of foreigners was made by our misfortunes, we should take it, now that we have the power, and hunt them from the country. My motto now is, death to all estrangeros!

He then concluded:

. . . Before we get through with the foreigners, the Yankees will think we are in earnest, and the time will come when their notables

<sup>51</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 15, 1867.

will be begging for their own heads, instead of begging for the Austrian.<sup>52</sup>

A Charlestonian in Mexico City, a few days before the surrender of Maximilian described the unhappy condition of the people in that city. He said that, in order to maintain itself, the Maximilian government had resorted to every conceivable device.

Exorbitant exactions of money under the specious names of "prestamos", "forced loans" and "taxes" are daily impressed upon the inhabitants—horses are seized in the streets, and the poorer classes, capable of bearing arms are dragged into the trenches. All foreigners, except Americans, being subject to these arbitrary impositions.

The city stores had closed, business had stopped, the people ate dog and horse meat; and prisons were filled with recusants.

. . . You must not imagine that the southerners are the only oppressed people in the world, and if you could but get a glimpse of the misery of this unfortunate country . . . you would feel more reconciled to your situation. . . .<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the government at Washington was hostile to the southern colonization movement and placed obstacles in the way of its permanent success by forbidding, as has been pointed out, the colonization and transportation agents, appointed by the imperial commissioner of colonization, to operate within the limits of the United States.<sup>54</sup> Thus many ex-Confederates were denied the much needed financial aid and the necessary transportation facilities to go to Mexico. This was somewhat offset, however, when the emperor authorized some of the customs collectors to pass the goods of immigrants free.<sup>55</sup> This was of little value, however, if a pro-

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, July 30, 1867. This quotation was taken from a letter of Escobedo addressed to Governor Gómez of Nuevo León. This letter, however, was branded a forgery by the Mexican authorities. Whether true or not it conveys the Mexican hostility to foreigners during the latter part of Maximilian's régime. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, pp. 666-667.

<sup>53</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 21, 1867.

<sup>54</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 494.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*



spective passenger had no money to pay the initial cost of transportation.

In conclusion, it suffices to say that upon the return of the Confederate soldiers to their individual homes and communities destruction and despair continually haunted them—they were financially ruined and politically ostracized. These one time restless and expanding people turned to Mexico as their El Dorado. Associations were formed and agents sent out to find a suitable place for an ex-Confederate settlement. The beautiful and fertile Córdova Valley was selected and attractive inducements were made by the imperial government. The old zeal and enthusiasm that had brought Florida, Texas, and California into the Union were now rekindled but this time for another cause and country. With high hopes, the ex-Confederates embarked for Mexico to recuperate financially and to escape the humiliation of reconstruction. Maximilian welcomed them with government lands upon favorable terms. Mexico, accordingly, attracted all classes of people including former Federal and Confederate officials and soldiers of high rank—governors, generals, colonels, judges, legislators, adventurers, farmers, and ministers. Some of these men won the confidence of the emperor who in turn made them important imperial officials, thus seemingly paving the way for a successful colony. Despite the fact that the lack of means and equipment, a hostile northern and southern press, and the efforts of the south to hold its own subjects and to attract settlers from abroad, contributed to the downfall of the southern colony in Mexico, the real cause of its failure was Secretary Seward's success in persuading Napoleon III to withdraw his support from Maximilian, thereby paving the way for the overthrow of the key man to the success of the whole colonization movement. After the withdrawal of the French troops, Mexico was harassed by political factions, irresponsible bands of highway robbers, organized and guerilla warfare, and general confusion. When it became evident that Maximilian would be overthrown there was a general

exodus of southerners from Mexico because of the extreme hostility of Mexicans to foreigners. Not all of them returned to the United States, however; some of them departed for Yucatan, Venezuela, Jamaica, and Brazil never to visit the land of their birth again. The vast majority, nevertheless, returned to their native states.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The author acknowledges assistance received from Mr. Donald E. Wilkinson, formerly a graduate student at Lehigh University.

## THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH PROPERTY QUESTION IN CUBA

In the Spanish colony of Cuba, as elsewhere in Hispanic America, the Catholic Church came to own considerable secular property. This property included valuable buildings in the city of Havana, isolated rural tracts in the province of Oriente, and *censos* or mortgages upon property in various parts of the island. During the period from 1837 to 1841 the Spanish government confiscated many of the Church's holdings, using some for government purposes and selling others.<sup>1</sup> Such acts led to a heated and prolonged controversy between Spain and the Holy See. The matter was finally settled by a concordat, published in 1861, which provided that the properties which had been sold by Spain should be dropped from consideration, that those which were not needed by the government should be returned to the Church, and that Spain should pay a rental for those retained and used for secular purposes. In practice, this agreement meant that the government would make appropriations for the support of the Church and clergy in Cuba. From the date of the concordat until 1899 the payments made by the government under this agreement amounted to approximately \$21,000,000.<sup>2</sup>

During the Spanish-American War the government of Spain ceased making appropriations to the Church for the use of its properties. Following the war, Cuba's political connection with Spain was severed and the union of Church and State came to an end. The United States took over the government of Cuba on January 1, 1899, and proceeded to use the Church's property for governmental purposes, as Spain had done, but without making the annual payments. Church officials promptly requested the United States military govern-

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Wood, *Civil Report of the Military Governor of Cuba, 1901* (19 Vols. Havana, 1902), I, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.



ment to relinquish the property or to make payments for its use.<sup>3</sup> The request of the Church was undoubtedly just and it raised a question which was not finally settled until the property was purchased for the state in 1908 by the American provisional governor of Cuba, Charles E. Magoon.

In seeking a solution of the Church property question, General Leonard Wood, military governor of Cuba, appointed a judicial commission composed of Pedro González Llorente, justice of the supreme court, Juan Victor Pichardo, justice of the audiencia of Pinar del Río, and Juan Francisco O'Farrell, justice of the audiencia of Havana and professor of law in the University of Havana, to consider the claims and property rights of the Church. To many Cubans, the Church had only an equity in the property in question. They argued that the Church, prior to 1899 had been, in effect, a part of the State, and that its property was partnership property which should have been divided when the Church was disestablished. The question had many ramifications, but the commission refused to be led astray and decided that the property belonged to the Church and that its claims for rent were valid.<sup>4</sup> The Cuban historian, Martínez Ortiz, makes the following criticism of the commission and its decision:

The honor of the commissioners was great and justly earned, but the opposition from a legal standpoint censored them because they felt that they were prejudiced in regard to the question. Sr. González Llorente was supposed to be a wholehearted Catholic, and in truth he was. Therefore his opinion could not be considered as impartial. The commissioners decided in favor of the Church. The American Government was greatly pleased; it was not inopportune for the Republican Party to win the good will of Catholics since they were influential in forming public opinion and the elections [in the United States] were not far off.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> J. Lloyd Meacham, *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations* (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 354-356.

<sup>4</sup> *House Document No. 2* (57th Cong., 1st Sess.) "Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1901" (Washington, 1901) p. 41; Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography* (2 Vols., New York, 1931) I, 317-318.

<sup>5</sup> Rafael Martínez Ortiz, *Cuba: los primeros Años de Independencia* (2 Vols., Paris, 1929), I, 333-334.

Acting on the commission's report, the military governor and the bishop of Havana on October 23, 1901, signed a contract whereby the government for \$868,657.81 purchased the *censos* or mortgages outright and compensated the Church for the use of its property in Havana to the date of the agreement. This contract gave the government an option to purchase the Havana property consisting of the custom-house, the university, the Academy of Science building, and other lesser buildings prior to July 1, 1906, for \$1,499,550. It also provided that the government should pay an annual rental of five per cent of the contract price until the date of purchase, and that twenty-five per cent of the sums paid for rent should be deducted from the contract price when the purchase was completed.<sup>6</sup> Wood was elated with this contract and wrote Elihu Root that a claim of over five million could now be settled for something less than two million dollars.<sup>7</sup>

On January 11, 1902, following additional investigations and negotiations, the military government entered into a contract with the Church concerning its holdings in Oriente. Annuities and outstanding claims were settled for \$82,579.16. Town lots in Santiago de Cuba and the scattered rural estates were valued at \$535,000 and the agreement granted the government a purchase option at that figure until July 1, 1906, during which time three per cent of the purchase price was to be paid annually as rent.<sup>8</sup>

General Wood did not purchase the Church's real property but turned the contracts over to the Republic of Cuba on May 20, 1902. The new chief executive, Tomás Estrada

\* *Letter of Transmittal by the Secretary of War, With Inclosures, as to the Church Property in Habana, Cuba* (Washington, 1907), p. 13 *et seq.* This letter written to the President by William Howard Taft includes the "Report of Charles E. Magoon, Provisional Governor of Cuba, on the Contract dated October 23, 1901, between the Military Government of Cuba and the Roman Catholic Church for the Purchase of certain Properties situate in the City of Habana, Republic of Cuba". Hereafter this work will be cited as *Church Report*. See also Albert G. Robinson, *Cuba and the Intervention* (New York, 1905), p. 326.

<sup>7</sup> Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, I, 366-367.

<sup>8</sup> Charles E. Magoon, *Report of Provisional Administration from December 1st, 1907 to December 1st, 1908* (Havana, 1909), p. 111; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

Palma, called these contracts to the attention of the Cuban congress in his regular message of November 7, 1904, but no action was taken.<sup>9</sup> The following April, Estrada Palma warned congress that the option on the Havana property would soon expire by stating:

If within the next fifteen months—counting from date—proper quarters are not provided for the installation of the aforesaid establishments, we shall find that the lease has expired and we shall be at the mercy of circumstances.<sup>10</sup>

Apparently the congress was too busy with politics and local bills to heed Estrada Palma's warning. The president in his regular message of November 5, 1905, again insisted that congress act, stating that it was urgent to determine the matter "one way or another".<sup>11</sup> Again the apathy of the congress defeated all efforts to settle this important and now pressing matter.

The Cuban congress in session during the first half of 1906 was probably too busy with events leading up to the August revolution of that year to appropriate funds to purchase the properties. However, much was at stake and to prevent a lapse of the contracts the Estrada Palma government on June 28, 1906, signed a new contract with the Catholic Church which extended the options on the Havana and Oriente properties for six months, with the privilege of an additional extension of six months after January 1, 1907.<sup>12</sup> There the matter stood when the United States, as a result of the August revolution and the resignation of the Cuban president, vice-president, and cabinet, was forced to establish a provisional government on September 29, 1906.<sup>13</sup>

The first provisional governor, William Howard Taft, held that office for only two weeks and consequently did not attempt to settle the Church property question. His successor

<sup>9</sup> *Mensajes presidenciales remitidos al Congreso . . . desde 1902 a 1917* (Havana), I, 108.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>12</sup> *Church Report*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Charles E. Chapman, *A History of the Cuban Republic: A Study in Hispanic American Politics* (New York, 1927), p. 195 et seq.



was Charles E. Magoon, former law officer of the bureau of insular affairs of the war department and former United States minister to Panama. Soon after Governor Magoon took charge, he received a call from Monsignor Giuseppe Aversa, archbishop of Sardes and papal delegate for Cuba and Puerto Rico, who advised him that the Church would like to dispose of the matter of compliance with the contracts. The provisional governor made a thorough investigation of the subject and submitted a report to Secretary of War William Howard Taft, in which he gave the history of the Church question, the terms of the contracts, the amounts remaining unpaid on the purchase prices, and the condition of the Cuban treasury. While negotiations were pending, Magoon secured an extension of the option on the Oriente property for another year, but was unable to secure more time on the Havana property as other bids had been received by the Church.<sup>14</sup>

On February 16, 1907, Taft wrote Magoon that the Cuban government should

secure a good title in fee to this property, which it is constantly using and which it can not possibly dispense with.<sup>15</sup>

He agreed with the suggestion, made by Magoon in his report, that \$1,000,000 should be paid at once and that monthly payments of \$100,000 should be made thereafter until the debt was discharged. Taft closed his letter by stating:

I think this a very admirable settlement for the Government and the church, and you are hereby directed and authorized to make the payments accordingly, and to issue decrees to carry out your recommendation, which, by direction of the President, I fully approve.<sup>16</sup>

When it became known that the government was considering the purchase of the Church property in Havana, the people and the press of that city at once took sides and articles

<sup>14</sup> *Church Report*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in *Church Report*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. On October 23, 1906, President Roosevelt had issued an order making the provisional governor subject to the supervision of the secretary of war.

appeared which complained that the balance of \$1,387,083.75 due under the contract of October 23, 1901, was too high.<sup>17</sup> Also, some of the religious orders, which had long since relinquished to the Church any rights they might have had to the property, now claimed that the Church had no right to sell and that any sums paid should go to them.<sup>18</sup> In view of these objections, Magoon ordered new appraisements made which would list the property in terms of 1907 values. He also looked into the matter of titles and the authority of Monsignor Aversa to execute legal deeds for the Church.

The Church was opposed to the making of new appraisements, contending that the purchase price stated in the contract was binding. However, when an average of the appraisements submitted by eighteen impartial individuals showed the property to be worth \$1,477,885.56 in June, 1907, all protests ceased.<sup>19</sup> Also, it became known at this time that in the event the government did not exercise its option, Sir William Redding, a wealthy resident of Havana, had offered to buy the property for himself and the United Fruit Company for \$1,499,550.<sup>20</sup> Further investigation showed that the bishop of Havana had absolute title to the property, and that he could sell property of the value of less than \$5,000 without authority from Rome, but that any sale exceeding \$5,000 must be approved in advance by the pope. Fortunately, Monsignor Aversa possessed full and complete power from the Holy See to authorize the Bishop of Havana to sell property in excess of \$5,000 and to join in the execution of the deeds.<sup>21</sup> Reassured as to value and the means of conveying title, President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft approved the purchase at the original contract figure and ordered Magoon to pay that sum. Accordingly, on July 12, 1907, the bishop of Havana and Monsignor Aversa, the pope's delegate, executed deeds to the Republic of Cuba for the Havana property, and Magoon

<sup>17</sup> *El Mundo*, Havana, April 2, 1907; *Havana Post*, April 3, 1907. The *Havana Telegraph* and *Diario de la Marina* strongly favored the purchase.

<sup>18</sup> *Havana Post*, April 19, 1907.

<sup>19</sup> *Church Report*, pp. 17, 26-27.

<sup>20</sup> *Church Report*, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

issued a decree which authorized the acting secretary of the treasury to pay the Roman Catholic Church \$1,387,083.75.<sup>22</sup>

With the purchase of the Havana property out of the way, Magoon turned his attention to the contract of January 11, 1902, which gave the government an option on various tracts of land in the province of Oriente. Church authorities had refused to extend this option a third time and accordingly, an investigation was ordered to determine the advisability of buying the property or returning it to the Church.

The investigation was made during 1907 and 1908 by Judge Otto Schoenrich, of Governor Magoon's staff, and by the chief of one of the bureaus of the treasury department. Schoenrich studied all legal documents relating to the proposed purchase and the Cuban treasury official went to Oriente to view and appraise the properties. The investigation revealed that the property consisted of town lots in Santiago de Cuba and rural estates in remote regions which had to be reached in many cases by pack trains. Many of the buildings had gone to ruin during the Ten Years War, and the government had permitted veterans of the Cuban wars of liberation to establish their farms on some of the estates. According to this investigation the property in 1908 was worth only \$360,900 and not the \$535,000 stated in the contract of January 11, 1902.<sup>23</sup>

Governor Magoon, acting on a memorandum prepared by Judge Schoenrich, submitted three proposals to the Church concerning its properties in Oriente. First, the government would pay \$210,000 for property needed by the State and for lands settled by Cuban veterans; or, second, if the Church found this unacceptable, the government would purchase the whole property for \$360,900; or, third, if this offer was also refused, the government would return all of the property to

<sup>22</sup> *Republic of Cuba, under the Provisional Government of the United States, Decrees, 1906-1909* (9 Vols., Havana), Decrees of 1907, no. 768. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Decrees*.

<sup>23</sup> Judge Otto Schoenrich of New York City to the author, July 13, 1936; Magoon, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

the Church and proceed to acquire through condemnation such portions as were urgently needed for State purposes.<sup>24</sup> The Church, after unsuccessfully raising the issue as to whether the government had signed a contract which required purchase at the original price or an option which permitted a new appraisement and price, finally chose the second proposal. On July 17, 1908, the deeds were duly executed and Magoon issued a decree ordering the acting secretary of the treasury to pay the Catholic Church \$360,900.<sup>25</sup>

The purchase of the Church's property completed the separation of Church and State in Cuba and ended a long drawn out controversy.<sup>26</sup> The settlement of this question was not only fair and just, but it removed from the incoming Cuban government a certain source of annoyance. Cubans opposed to the purchase of the properties denounced the settlement as a virtual gift to the church, and certainly it is improbable that any Cuban government would have paid for them,—such is the hostility to the church,—but the debt was an honest one.<sup>27</sup>

Cuba was fortunate in securing good fee title to buildings and lands needed for state purposes at a reasonable market value, and the Church, which narrowly escaped having its property confiscated when Cuba threw off Spanish rule, was fortunate in making satisfactory settlements with Wood and Magoon, both of whom were Protestants.

This article might well end here, but it seems necessary to discuss briefly and to denounce the rumor, still occasionally

<sup>24</sup> Magoon, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Schoenrich to the author, July 13, 1936. Secretary of State Elihu Root, who had been consulted on this matter, was opposed to paying more than \$360,900 for the Oriente property (Root to Taft, June 17, 1908; *Root Papers*. In the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington).

<sup>25</sup> *Decrees, 1908*, no. 762.

<sup>26</sup> The Cuban constitution of 1901 states that: "The profession of all religions is free, as well as the exercise of all cults without limitation, except that they must respect Christian morality and public order. The Church will be separated from the State, and in no case will it subsidize any cult". *Constitución de la República de Cuba* (Habana, 1910), Article 26.

<sup>27</sup> Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 239.



whispered in Cuba, that the settlement of the Church property question was procured through bribery. In his report of June 1, 1907, to Secretary Taft, Magoon stated:

It is common rumor in Habana that when the question of completing the purchase of this property was pending in the Cuban Congress a cabal was formed by a number of persons to fight the measure in and out of Congress for the purpose of forcing the church authorities to pay \$400,000 to end the opposition.

The present attempt to complete the sale has revived this rumor and caused two variations of it—one, that the present opposition is made by the parties who composed the opposing syndicate when the matter was before Congress; two, that the \$400,000 is to be paid if the sale is completed to Consul-General Steinhart, who, it is insinuated, will divide the money so paid with the provisional governor. I feel obliged to report said rumor to you, but I am glad to add that so much of said rumor as involves the American consul-general and the provisional governor receives no credence from the public, individually or collectively. Doubtless there are in this community, as in every community, persons so constituted that, the charge being made that a certain condition of facts affords opportunity for graft, immediately and conclusively presume that officials so situated as to take advantage of such opportunity will do so. This is disagreeable and embarrassing to the officials of the provisional government and will be more so to the officials of the new Cuban administration, and it appears to me to be the duty of the provisional government to make some disposition of this matter which will be final and not relegate it to the forthcoming new administration.<sup>28</sup>

Regardless of embarrassments, the provisional government discharged its duty and Magoon, with the approval of Taft and Roosevelt, made the purchase. It is doubtful if the Church in Cuba possessed a cash fund of \$400,000 during this period, but regardless of its available cash, the character of the Church and its agents should preclude consideration of such a rumor. The charge that the Church bribed Magoon, Steinhart, or anyone else is without foundation in fact. The rumor to be complete should have included Wood who made

<sup>28</sup> *Church Report*, p. 31.

the contracts, Estrada Palma who recommended them to the Cuban congress, and Taft and Roosevelt as they and not Steinhart or Magoon ordered the final settlement.<sup>29</sup>

Following the purchase of the Havana property, Magoon received from the bishop of Havana a photograph and a letter thanking him for his courtesies and coöperation.<sup>30</sup> He also received an oil portrait of Pope Pius X.<sup>31</sup> On October 4, 1907, the pope, on the recommendation of Monsignor Aversa, bestowed upon Magoon the title of Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great, of the civil class.<sup>32</sup> This recognition was openly made and it was not accepted by the provisional governor until he had been assured by Secretary of State Elihu Root that it would be legal and proper for him to accept the honor.<sup>33</sup>

The fact that the Oriente property was purchased by Magoon for \$174,100 less than the price fixed by the Wood contract of January 11, 1902, is excellent evidence, regardless of the parties, that the purchase was not procured through fraud. Judge Otto Schoenrich, whose honesty has not been questioned, was in charge of the investigation of the Oriente property and had more to do with the fixing of the final purchase price than any other person. In writing the author concerning this matter he states:

I well remember the afternoon when Governor Magoon had finished reading my memorandum, he called me into his office, complimented me on the memorandum, and wrote the word "approved" at the

<sup>29</sup> The author has carefully consulted the available literature of this period and has discussed the Church property question with prominent Cubans and citizens of the United States without finding any evidence that bribery in any way entered into the settlement.

<sup>30</sup> Pedro González, Bishop of Havana, to Magoon, July 14, 1907. This letter is in the author's possession.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with General J. A. Ryan of Chicago, formerly military aide to Governor Magoon.

<sup>32</sup> Cardinal Merry del Val, Secretary of State of the Holy See, to Magoon, October 4, 1907. The original citation is in the possession of R. J. Flick of Beverley Hills, California.

<sup>33</sup> Root to Magoon, December 16, 1907 (*Root Papers*. In the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington).

bottom of it. That was all the intervention he had in designating the price. It illustrates the absurdity of the charge of bribery.<sup>84</sup>

In this instance, as in the purchase of the Havana property, the final authority rested with the officials in Washington and not with those in Havana. In the settlement of the Church property question in Cuba, United States officials in Washington and in Havana handled the matter with credit to themselves and their country and in a manner which was equitable and fair to the Church and to Cuba.

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North Carolina State College.

<sup>84</sup> Schoenrich to the author, July 13, 1936.

## DOCUMENT

### THE CORWIN-DOBLADO TREATY APRIL 6, 1862

The Corwin-Doblado Treaty of April 6, 1862, was published in the *Heraldo* of Mexico City on November 30, 1862. A copy of the treaty was sent to Lord John Russell, her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, by Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, her Majesty's minister to Mexico, as explained in the excerpt from the latter's despatch to Lord Russell. The document is found in F. O. 50, volume 366, in the Public Record Office in London. Taken in connection with the McLane-Ocampo Treaty of December 14, 1859, found, by the way, in the *New York Times* for February 15, 1860, these two treaties form an interesting page in the history of the relations between the United Mexican States and the United States of America.

The excerpts from Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward and from Sir Charles Lennox Wyke to Lord John Russell give additional information on the purpose and the nature of the Corwin-Doblado Treaty which was, of course, never ratified by the United States Government.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

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These paragraphs from the despatch of Mr. Thomas Corwin, United States Minister to Mexico, and dean of the diplomatic corps in Mexico, to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, explains Mr. Corwin's reasons for negotiating the treaty of April 6, 1862, with the Mexican Government. This despatch was written on April 16, 1862.

After the preliminary Treaty (The Convention of Soledad of Feb. 19, 1862),—which provided that the three Powers (that is Great Britain, France and Spain, signatories to the Triple Convention of London of Oct. 31, 1861) should acknowledge the present Government and meet it at Orizaba to treat concerning their



respective claims—, the Mexican Govt. earnestly pressed upon me the necessity of a Loan from the United States, enabling Mexico to part with her revenues from Commerce and so at once satisfy her Foreign Creditors and secure peace with the European Powers, which could not be done without this loan to satisfy the place of the revenues with which she was obliged to part, and also for the purpose of showing to the Guerrilla Bands that the Government had the means for their destruction, and to manifest to the European Powers that we,—the United States—, are the Friends of Mexico, and resolved to use all peaceful means of preventing forcible intervention on this Continent.

I could not be blind to the Force of these reasons, and have acted on them in agreeing to the Treaty which I now submit for your approval.

You will pardon a few remarks on the Treaty itself, to which I beg to solicit your careful attention.

*First.* In order to make it certain that the want of money should not be an insuperable objection, I have provided that the amount, if the Government chooses, shall be paid in Bonds, at six per cent redeemable at any time in twenty years; that they shall be sold by the United States Government and the proceeds paid to Mexico, the latter being bound to pay the face value of the Bonds, or in other words, Mexico takes the Bonds at par and loses the discount. She trusts the sale of the Bonds to us, it being our interest to keep up the credit of our securities, and accounts to us for the par value.

*Secondly.* In order that the Government here might not squander the money and divert its application from the purpose intended, I have provided that only two Millions shall be paid at once, and the remaining nine Millions in monthly payments of half a Million, so that the last payment will be made at the end of the eighteen months from the ratification.

*Thirdly.* To enable our Government to meet their payments, it is provided that Mexico shall give their bonds equivalent in amount when she receives each payment, with interest payable as our Bonds are, except that the Mexican Bonds are to be paid, principal and interest, in five years from the ratification of the Treaty by the United States.

*Fourthly.* To raise the money to pay this debt, I have mortgaged to the United States all the publick lands, and all the Church Property and mortgages on it, and a Board, partly Mexican and partly United States citizens, are to realize this property and pay over to the United States every three months the money obtained. In this way I am sure the principal and interest will be paid off in five years, and after the first year we shall receive more than enough to reimburse us the monthly payments to be made during the six of the eighteen months.

In this scheme, whilst I am sure our Loan is well secured, I did not lose sight of the good to be done to Mexico, by securing through this Mixed Commission that integrity and economy in the disposal of her land and Church Property, which may be of great service as an example which she may follow in the future management of her Finances. Nor did I overlook the fact, that part of the Commission being citizens of the United States would certainly attract purchasers from our own Country, who being dispersed amongst the people of Mexico everywhere, would teach them lessons in morals, religion and politicks, which they have yet to learn, and which alone are wanting to make them proper citizens of a free Re-

publick. Let it be remembered that Mexico is our *neighbour*, and enlightened self-interest requires that we should not be indifferent to the welfare of such.

We have by one means or another taken from her about half her original territory. We have done more to weaken her than has been done by the whole world besides. Since 1835 we have been her *only* enemy. Hence we have lost all our trade with her. While we were fighting with her and wresting her territory from her, England was lending her money. Hence England has three-fourths of her trade, we one-tenth. Is not this the time by a friendly policy to reverse this order of things? Especially now when, unless we extend a helping hand, Europe will take from Mexico what we have left her, and with it her right to govern herself.

Mr. Corwin concludes:

I trust our Government will remonstrate firmly against all idea of European conquest on this continent, and in such tone as to have its due influence on the present position of France in Mexico. A glance at the Map is sufficient to warn us of the danger to Pacifick possessions, to be apprehended from an ambitious Power in Mexico, with Armies, Navies and Money at her command. But I am satisfied this danger may be avoided by the pecuniary aid proposed by the treaty with us, and the united Diplomacy of England, Spain and the United States. If these means however are not promptly and energetically applied, a European Power may fasten itself upon Mexico, which it will become a necessity with us at no distant day to dislodge. To do this in the supposed event, would cost us Millions, twenty times told more than we propose to lend her upon undoubted security.

Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, her majesty's minister to Mexico, and who enclosed a copy of this despatch, as he had done with a copy of the treaty in question, in his despatch to Lord Russell of December 2, 1862, has this to say, concluding that despatch:

This letter is worthy of Your Lordship's perusal not only as clearly illustrating what I have above stated, but also as containing Mr. Corwin's opinion of the war now carried on by French against this Republick, as well as of the mistaken policy hitherto pursued by the United States Government towards Mexico. It has only just come to light, having been published together with a copy of the Convention in the "Heraldo" newspaper of the 30th ultimo.

At  
P E O  
London }

[The Treaty]  
Foreign Office Papers—Mexico. (F.O. 50/366)

[Copy]

Draft of proposed Treaty between the United  
States of America & the United Mexican States.

Animated by a desire to aid the Government of Mexico in her  
efforts to fulfil her Treaty, obligations with Foreign Powers, & to

establish domestick order, the United States of America agree to lend to the United States of Mexico the sum of Eleven Millions of Dollars.

\$11,000,000

For the purpose of embodying this agreement in the solemn form of a Treaty, the President of the United States of America has appointed Thomas Corwin etc. etc. etc. and the President of the United States of Mexico has appointed Señor Dr. Manuel Doblado etc. etc. etc., who after a reciprocal communication of their Full Powers have agreed to & signed the following Articles.

#### Article I.

The United States of America agree to lend to the Mexican Republick the sum of Eleven Millions of Dollars, which shall be delivered in the City of New York in the United States of America to the person or Banking-House whom the Government of the United Mexican States may name, at the following times & upon the following terms, to wit, two Millions of Dollars shall be paid fifteen days after the ratification of this Treaty by the Government of the United States of America, and half a Million of Dollars shall be paid the first day of every month thereafter, until the stipulated sum shall have been fully paid. The foregoing sum shall be paid in the current coin of the United States or in Bonds with Coupons attached, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, payable semi-annually at the Treasury of the United States of America, redeemable at the pleasure of the United States at any time within twenty years from their date.

#### Article II.

In consideration of the loan of eleven Millions of Dollars, as provided for in the First Article, the United Mexican States hereby pledge & mortgage as a security for the repayment of the same, all their publick Lands now remaining unsold, & all the Nationalized Mortmain property now undisposed of, and all Notes, Bonds, or Mortgages arising out of the same, heretofore sold by the Govt. of Mexico & not yet paid and owned by the Govt. of the United Mexican States.

#### Article III.

The United Mexican States, for the purpose of securing the repayment of said Loan, shall deliver to the Security of the Treasury of the United States of America, their bonds with coupons attached, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, payable semi-annually at the Treasury of the United States of America in the City of Washington, the principal to be paid in five years from the date of the ratification of this Treaty by the Govt. of the United States of America; the amount and date of said Bonds to be made to cor-

respond with the amount and date of the payments made to Mexico as provided for in the first Article of this Treaty.

#### Article IV.

For the purpose of realizing the amount loaned by the United States to Mexico, a Board of five persons shall be organized, of which three shall be appointed by the President of the Mexican Republic and two by the President of the United States of America. This Board shall hold its Sessions in the City of Mexico and shall not be dissolved or discharged until the debt created by this Treaty is fully paid by Mexico, or until both Governments shall agree to dispense with its services.

#### Article V.

It is hereby agreed and stipulated on the part of the United Mexican States, that the said Board shall be by virtue hereof endowed with full, complete and exclusive authority, jurisdiction, controul and disposition over all the herein-named pledged publick Lands now remaining unsold, and over all the nationalized Mortmain property now undisposed of, and Bills receivable, and mortgages or other securities arising from sales of said nationalized Mortmain property heretofore sold by the Government of Mexico, with full power to sell, transfer and convey the same to purchasers thereof, whether Mexican Citizens or foreigners, & that upon the exchange of the Ratifications of this Treaty and the organization of said Board, all the said undisposed of Nationalized Mortmain property and Bills receivable, mortgages or other claims arising therefrom, now undisposed of, and all the unsold publick lands within the Republick, together with all titles, records, mortgages, or other documents, papers or books, necessary to show the amount or facilitate the disposal of the said Nationalized property or claims arising out of the same and the said Publick Lands, shall be fully and entirely placed in the possession and under the sole Controul of the said Board.

The titles given by said Board to purchasers of the herein mentioned Lands and other property, when disposed of under the Authority herein contained, shall be valid and irrevocable.

#### Article VI.

Each Member of said Board, before entering upon the duties of his Office, shall protest according to the Constitution of Mexico before some Officer qualified by the Laws of Mexico to receive such protest, to faithfully discharge all the duties imposed upon him by this Treaty, and shall give Bonds in the penal sum of ten thousand Dollars, conditioned upon the faithful performance of his duty as a Member of said Board, with two or more good sureties, to be approved by the President of the United Mexican States and the Min-



ister of the United States resident in Mexico. One copy of said Bond shall be kept in the Treasury Department of Mexico, and the other shall be filed in the Archives of the Legation of the United States at the City of Mexico.

#### Article VII.

No property of any kind shall be sold by the Board herein established, after a sum shall have been realized sufficient to pay the Debt created by this Treaty and the interest thereon, nor shall the functions of said Board continue after said Debt and interest shall have been paid.

#### Article VIII.

All monies received by the said Board from the sales of the Nationalized Mortmain property herein pledged or from "pagarés" or other claims arising therefrom, and from sales of Publick Lands as herein provided, shall be deposited as received with one or more depositaries, who shall be named and approved by the President of Mexico & the President of the United States of America, and said monies shall be transmitted every three months by the said Board to the United States & paid into the Treasury of the United States at the City of Washington, first deducting the expenses of Sales and Surveys, which expenses shall be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury of Mexico.

#### Article IX.

It is agreed between the High Contracting Parties, that, from and after the date of the signing of this Treaty, the Government of Mexico shall cease to sell or dispose of in any way whatever any part or portion of the Publick Lands belonging to the Republick of Mexico, or any portion of the National Mortmain property, or any Contracts or "pagarés" or claims arising out of either of the before-mentioned descriptions of property, the same being mortgaged to the Government of the United States of America for the purpose specified in this Treaty.

#### Article X.

If the Government of the United States of America should elect to make the Loan referred to in the first Article of this Treaty with the Bonds referred to in said Article, then the Government of the United States of America shall negotiate said Bonds or so much of them as shall produce the sum of Eleven Millions of Dollars in coin, and pay the same over to the *person or Banking House designated by the Government of the United Mexican States*, at the times specified in the first Article of this Treaty, and if said Bonds shall be sold for less than the sum specified on their face, then such discount shall be charged to the Govt. of the United Mexican States, and Bonds thereof shall be given by the Government of the United Mexican States as provided in the third Article of this Treaty.

## Article XI.

This Treaty shall be ratified, and the respective Ratifications shall be exchanged at the City of Washington within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature or sooner if possible. In testimony whereof etc. etc.

Mexico. 6. April 1862.

(Signed)

(L.S.) THOMAS CORWIN

(L.S.) MANUEL DOBLADO

\$11,000,000  
Whereas on the 6th of April 1862, a Convention, providing for a Loan of eleven Millions of Dollars by the United States of Mexico, was signed by the Ministers of the above mentioned Governments, and by the fourth Article of said Treaty it is provided that a Board of Commissioners, to consist of five persons, shall be organized, and the compensation of the Members of said Board is not fixed by said Convention, for the purpose of fixing the salaries or compensation of said Board, and further defining the duties thereof, Thomas Corwin etc. etc., & Manuel Maria de Zamacond, Minister Plenipotentiary appointed ad hoc by the Govt. of Mexico, after a reciprocal Exchange of their Powers, have agreed to & signed the following Articles.

## Article I.

\$5,000  
The Commissioners provided for in the Fourth Article of the Treaty between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, signed at the City of Mexico on the 6th. of April 1862, shall each be paid the sum of five thousand Dollars annually,—while on actual service in the discharge of the duties assigned to them in the Treaty above referred to,—to be paid quarterly out of the monies received by said Board from the sales of the Lands and other effects, hypothecated to the United States of America by said Treaty, and said salaries shall be deducted from the monies so received, as other expenses of said Board, as provided in the eighth Article of said Convention.

## Article II.

The salaries of the Members of said Board shall commence when each Member shall have appeared in the City of Mexico, and qualified himself as provided in the Sixth Article of said Convention. Any Member of said Board shall be liable to removal from Office by the Power from whom he received his appointment, for incapacity, misconduct in office, or neglect of duty.

## Article III.

The Board shall make Report of all its proceedings half yearly, one Copy of which shall be transmitted to each of the Governments

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of the Contracting Parties, & one Copy shall be delivered to the Minister of the United States of America in the City of Mexico.

In testimony whereof etc., etc., etc.

Mexico 6 April 1862.

(Signed)

(L.S.) THOMAS CORWIN

(L.S.) M. MA. DE ZAMACOND

[*Endorsed:*] Mexico April 6. 1862.

American Treaty  
for Loan of \$11,000,000  
to Mexico.

In Sir C. L. Wyke's

No. 103—Secret.

1862.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860.* Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. Vol. VII, *Great Britain*. Vol. VIII, *Mexico*. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1936; 1937. Pp. xxxi, 785; xliii, 1106. \$5.00 each.)

The value of this series becomes more evident as the succeeding volumes issue from the press. Likewise—this must be said at the risk of boring the reader with repetition—the indebtedness of historians to the Carnegie Endowment and to Dr. Manning becomes more evident: to the Endowment for making the publication possible, and to Dr. Manning for selecting, arranging, and editing the documents with so much care. Other things as well are now made clearer. The two volumes, VII and VIII, now under review, make manifest what subjects and what areas were of chief interest to the United States. Of these two volumes, number VII, the one comprising the correspondence with Great Britain, is devoted largely to interchanges relating, first, to British interference in Mexico and Texas; and, secondly, to British territorial encroachments in Central America. Nor is it merely on the basis of this volume that these appear to be two main subjects and two principal areas. The great bulk of volume VIII, consisting of some eleven hundred pages, illustrates the interest of the United States in the Mexican area. Yet, extensive as this volume is, it embraces the correspondence to the middle of 1848 only. Another of equal bulk will be required to fill the gap from 1848 to 1860. When the series is completed, the correspondence relating directly or indirectly to Mexico and Central America will comprise nearly half of the whole, throughout a great part of which will be interwoven the British thread.

The correspondence between Washington and London to which the activities of the British in Mexico and Central America gave rise, is the most interesting that has thus far appeared in the series. This is not strange, considering the participants in the discussions. The best of the one country were pitted against the best of the other. It was the state department against the foreign office. The secretaries of



state were more or less indifferent to the capitals of the Hispanic American countries. But London was a challenge that none of them failed to meet. They all—John Forsyth, Abel P. Upshur, John C. Calhoun, James Buchanan, John M. Clayton, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, William L. Marcy, and Lewis Cass—wielded their pens with fierce energy against the British foe; and the foe—Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Granville, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clarendon, and Lord John Russell were at the foreign office during these years—stubbornly resisted, giving blow for blow. Able coadjutors on both sides joined in the fray. At London, fighting for the American cause, were Andrew Stevenson, Edward Everett (before he was secretary of state), Louis McLane, George Bancroft, Joseph R. Ingersoll, William C. Rives, Abbott Lawrence, James Buchanan (after he was secretary of state), and George M. Dallas; and at Washington upholding the British cause were Richard Pakenham, John F. Crampton, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, Lord Napier, and Lord Lyons. The record of the mighty contest, now made readily available in the pages of this volume, is one to delight the souls of all who love their diplomatic battles spirited but bloodless in the end.

The contest on the Mexican front was less happy in its results. It was not altogether a battle of wits. Force played its part in the territorial adjustments, the desire for which lay at the bottom of the conflict. Peaceful solutions were impossible with conditions as they were in Mexico. There were no Lord Aberdeens or Lord Palmerstons at the Mexican capital to meet the onslaughts of the American secretaries of state. Lucas Almán, who was doubtless the equal of any of his contemporaries in Washington or London, would have filled the requirements if he had been backed by a stable, well-ordered government. But he had no such support. Sinister figures like Antonio López de Santa Anna kept the country in a constant state of turmoil for their own sordid ends. In the circumstances diplomacy had little opportunity to achieve its aims. The failure, in its final analysis, was the failure of government in Mexico. When that is fairly recognized less will be said about the wickedness of the United States in its supposedly remorseless pursuit of its manifest destiny. But the story is here in this thick volume. Let those who care to, read.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

*The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress.* Compiled, translated, and edited by STELLA R. CLEMENCE. Vol. I. *Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531-1651.* (Washington: G. P. O., 1932. Pp. x, 356. \$5.00.) Vol. II. *Documents from early Peru: The Pizarros and the Almagros, 1531-1578.* (Washington: G. P. O., 1936. Pp. xi, 253. \$5.00.)

Among the many amateur collectors and bibliophiles to whom scholars owe their gratitude and thanks we may well list Mr. Bertram T. Lee, an American long resident in Peru, for assembling and preserving the documents constituting the Harkness Collection now in the Library of Congress.

This collection is one of the most important gifts of manuscripts ever presented to any library. It was originally assembled by Mr. Lee whose business of buying real estate made him familiar with old notarial documents of all descriptions. Becoming an expert, he specialized in collecting documents dealing with the conquistadores. When financial reverses confronted him, his papers were sold to Dr. Rosenbach from whom Mr. Edward S. Harkness obtained them.

In 1929, Mr. Harkness presented these invaluable papers to the Library of Congress, and since that time, Miss Stella R. Clemence has been painstakingly engaged in the arduous task of deciphering, transcribing, and translating them. In 1932, the volume containing the calendar of the documents relating to Peru was published (reviewed in this REVIEW, XIII, 109). More than two thousand persons are mentioned in this calendar, which thus furnishes one of the most important lists of early explorers and conquerors extant.

The second volume contains forty-eight selected documents dealing with Peru, but mainly with the Pizarro and Almagro families. These were the two most prominent families in Peru and any documents dealing with them or their affairs are source material in the history of Peru, its conquest, and early rule.

Miss Clemence's broad knowledge of Peruvian history, her patience, earnestness, and perseverance are reflected in these two volumes. There are twenty-four pages of explanatory notes and commentary (which have involved immense research) and a full index. In both transcription and translation of these papers, Miss Clemence has meticulously followed the originals. Her task has been performed unstintedly, and with deep understanding and expert knowledge of the subject at hand; while the Government Printing Office has contributed

a beautiful volume excellently designed and neatly printed with a very appropriate binding.

R. O. RIVERA.

Duke University.

*El Verdadero Sandino o el Calvario de las Segovias.* By ANASTASIO SOMOZA. (Managua, Nicaragua. Tipografía Robelo, 1936. Pp. 566.)

Some have called Sandino a hero. The story set forth in *El Verdadero Sandino o el Calvario de las Segovias* by Anastasio Somoza effectively dispels this myth. When Stimson and Moncada agreed on a plan for the pacification of Nicaragua in 1926, Sandino had the opportunity to contribute to this benevolent end and to participate in the rehabilitation of the sorry, distraught Nicaragua by having a place in the government of his chief. He chose to make a futile gesture. He claimed that his activities, which earned for him the title of bandit from the Nicaraguan government, were to force the immediate retirement of the American Marines from the country. But in fact his efforts from 1926 to 1933 did not change by a single hour the final withdrawal of the Marines—a policy decided on long ere anyone had ever heard the name of Sandino. His adventures did result in the death of a few Marines, and here and there were found voices to hail his achievements. But more than this, they effected the slaughter of many peaceful Nicaraguans, the destruction of much Nicaraguan property, the desolation of a large part of the Segovias, and the dissipation of many thousands of dollars from the Nicaraguan Treasury.

This volume by the Commandant of the National Guard, now the President of Nicaragua, recounts with much lurid detail this sad episode in Nicaraguan history. It is not a finished narrative account but a series of short statements, some regarding occurrences, others to introduce the accompanying text of documents. The ghastly details of each harrowing incident are set forth item by item, and the steps leading to the final dénouement are described. Many of the documents show the mentality and ideas of Sandino as well as of his lieutenants and defenders. Others are official documents indicating the actions and opinions of the government. These documents give the volume the character of a source book and make it an important contribution to recent Nicaraguan history.

A principal thread of the story is the antagonism between the National Guard and Sandino. Years of campaigning against the irregular forces of the "Defender of the Race" did not create any love for him on the part of the National Guard which lost a number of its men in the operations. On the other hand, the Guard became the *bête noire* of Sandino because of the losses it had inflicted on his cause. With this military institution well established in Nicaraguan life and with its record for maintaining order in all of Nicaragua outside the Segovias, after Sandino ceased his bellicose activity, only one result could come if he insisted on his antagonism and endeavors to destroy its effectiveness. Animated by hostility to the National Guard and stirred by growing ambition to become a political chief in his country, Sandino remained a disturbing factor after the withdrawal of the Marines and after he had entered into a pact with the Sacasa administration. Events growing out of the attitude of Sandino and his insistence on maintaining an armed force in the Segovias not subject to the Guard led to the tragic night on which he was killed. The volume does not entirely lift the veil from this episode, but the situation of Nicaragua since the death of Sandino indicates by contrast what a disturbing and costly element he was.

The ideals of Sandino reveal themselves in the many documents that are cited. Also there is evidence of his decision early in 1934 to avoid disarmament of his followers. At that time, the National Guard was convinced that Sandino and his friends planned some sort of a coup d'état. Thus the bitterness of Sandino toward the National Guard, the treacherous proposal of his representative, Zepeda, to General Somoza, and the supposed plans of Sandino and his followers culminated in the decision of the Guard to arrest him. The fatal consequence of this arrest to Sandino and his immediate lieutenants is explained by the author as an "unforeseen event, the fatal conclusion", in which "unfortunately blood flowed to save the country from the horrible siege of misery, grief, and death which it had in prospect". There are many illustrations, including gruesome pictures of victims of Sandino and numerous photographic reproductions of documents. This volume entitled *The True Sandino or the Calvary of the Segovias* does not serve to place Sandino in the category of a national hero.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.



*Biografía del General Don Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, 1818-1890.* By ESTEBAN ESCOBAR. (Managua, Nicaragua: Tipografía "La Prensa", 1935. Pp. 398.)

There are few biographies of distinguished Nicaraguans. Consequently, the *Biografía del General Don Pedro Joaquín Chamorro* by Esteban Escobar is an addition to the historical literature of that country.

Chamorro was the outstanding leader of conservative Granada during the last half of the nineteenth century, and as such exerted a decisive influence in the affairs of the republic for many years. The volume is entirely sympathetic and finds nothing to criticize in the subject of the sketch. Only a few lines are devoted to Chamorro's birth and family, and no attempt is made to depict the environment which molded his character and influenced his life. The story really begins in his thirty-first year with a local political episode in which he expressed his opposition to militarism. He came into national prominence in the struggle against William Walker, and from that time until his death always maintained a leading position in public affairs. He was active in numerous revolutionary movements and made several trips abroad to secure loans or to represent Nicaragua otherwise. During a revolution he was, as a senator, put in charge of the executive power for a few months in 1869. Later he was elected to the presidency for the period from 1875 to 1879. The bulk of the volume (pp. 62-268) is devoted to a presentation of the details of this administration. Extensive quotations from the writings of Chamorro are given to reveal his attitude on matters of state and his manner of conducting the affairs of the country. These documents are all in private hands, and no use was made of the government archives prior to their destruction in the earthquake of 1931.

Chamorro is remembered best as the father of free public instruction, which he established by the decree of March 8, 1877. There is a lengthy discussion of his opinions and activities with reference to the Jesuit question (pp. 270-317). In connection with the war of 1885, undertaken by President Barrios of Guatemala to establish Central American Union, Chamorro, again as senator, was in charge of the executive power for several weeks. The following year the conservative convention proposed Chamorro as candidate for the presidency, but he was defeated in the primaries. He took no part in the administration of Carazo and retired to private life. He died on June

7, 1890. Thus the man who had been the chief of his party through practically the entire "Thirty Years" of conservative rule died before this party lost control to Zelaya and the liberals in 1893.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

*Memórias (Estas minhas Reminiscências)*. By MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA. ["Coleção Documentos Brasileiros", Dirigida por Gilberto Freyre.] (Rio: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1937. Pp. X, 319, 3 ll.)

These reminiscences of the distinguished Brazilian historian and diplomat are divided chronologically into four parts:—I. Pernambuco-Portugal (1867-1890); II. Rio-Lisbôa-Berlim-Rio (1890-1895); III. Brasil e Estados Unidos (1896-1900); IV. Londres-Tokyo (1900-1903). But the last date is misleading, since the book in many cases discusses events of the last twenty-five years of Dr. Oliveira Lima's life, following his return from his position as minister to Japan.

On almost every page is evidence of the broad, deep culture and the keen intellect of the writer. But the book also reflects his bitterness over the refusal of the Brazilian senate—ostensibly because he was a monarchist—to ratify his appointment as minister to Great Britain, an honor to which his ability and earlier services appear to have entitled him. He discussed the matter specifically in a statement—"O meu Caso"—which is printed as an appendix.

The portion of the volume treating of his boyhood, education, and early manhood, before his foreign-service career began, is perhaps the most valuable historically because the most detached in viewpoint. It includes memories connected with the revolution of 1889 and the early days of the republic. For some years before the empire fell, Manoel de Oliveira Lima had been a student in Portugal and was a republican, as, he says, all students were. When Saraiva, Dom Pedro's most trusted minister, was in Lisbon a few months before the event, the youth of twenty-two remarked enthusiastically that the republic was imminent, at which the councilor replied, "Then the gentlemen"—meaning the republicans—"will see what personal power is". Oliveira Lima went aboard the *Alagôas* when it arrived in Lisbon with the imperial exiles and gives a brief but eloquent description of them. His picture of Brazil as it was when he returned there in 1890 is clear

and discerning, especially in its political aspects. On Deodoro de Fonseca he throws interesting side lights, and apparently agrees with Menzel that the general "had a weak head but a good heart". Also on José Verissimo, Ulysses Vianna, Pinheiro Chagas, and other leading figures of the period he makes illuminating comments.

Though the portion of the reminiscences dealing with the years in foreign service touch upon a wide range of subjects, the historical information contributed by it is less than one would hope and expect. For instance, Dr. Oliveira Lima treats but casually his successful adjustment of the boundary dispute with Venezuela. Furthermore, though he devotes considerable space to Salvador Mendonça, Zabellos, Rio Branco, Joaquin Nabuco, and other outstanding personalities in Brazil's foreign service, his estimates of them seem in some cases strongly colored by his personal feelings and professional disappointments.

The volume gives bits of information about many matters connected with Brazilian history, but not much upon any single topic. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Dr. Oliveira Lima's correspondence, which must be rich in valuable historical information, may soon be made available through publication.

Written in chatty, gossipy style, and sprinkled with anecdotes and humorous bits, these *Memorias* are decidedly readable. Unfortunately, however, the editorial work was badly done, and the volume is literally riddled with typographical errors. There are good portraits of Dr. Oliveira Lima and of several of his contemporaries.

Besides "O meu Caso", the appendix includes a copy of Dr. Oliveira Lima's will, a bibliography of his writings, two or three letters written to him, and memorial addresses in his honor by Dr. Max Fleiuss and Dr. James Alexander Robertson.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

*Rio in the Time of the Viceroy.* Translated by DOROTHEA H. MOMSEN from LUIZ EDMUNDO'S *O Rio de Janeiro no Tempo dos Vice-Reis*. With an introduction by HUGH GIBSON and an epilogue by the translator. (Rio de Janeiro: printed by J. D. de Oliveira & Cia., 1936. [Published by Dorothea H. Momsen; for sale in the United States by G. E. Stechert, New York.] Pp. 386. Illus. \$2.00.

Mrs. Momsen's translation of Luiz Edmundo's scholarly and fascinating work, (described in this REVIEW, XIV, 480-482), shows some

desirable changes in organization. The chapter titles of her version are as follows: I. Old Rio; II. Thru the City Streets; III. The Homes; IV. The Slave Market; V. The Taverns; VI. Churches; VII. The Bells; VIII. Beggars and Shrines; IX. Sedan Chairs and Coaches; X. Festas; XI. Congadas; XII. The Old Woman in the Cask; XIII. Styles and Dress; XIV. Headdresses; XV. Manners and Customs; XVI. Books and Letters; XVII. Fathers, Sons, and Daughters; XVIII. Love and Marriage; XIX. Kitchens, Banquets, and Etiquette; XX. The Theater; XXI. Medicine; XXII. Justice.

The volume gives faithfully in English the spirit as well as the statements of fact making up Dr. Edmundo's book. Mrs. Momsen has admirably reproduced his attractive style—clear, direct, chatty, lively, and seasoned with wit—thus making the colonial *fluminenses* live for the English-language reader, as the author caused them to do in his original work for those whose native tongue is Portuguese. By means of the skill of author and translator, the Rio of that era passes before the mind of the reader like a long pageant—with figures grave and gay, saintly and sordid, majestic and grotesque. The exhibition is made more vivid by the inclusion in the translation of many of the illustrations used in the Portuguese version.

This appears to be the only available work which gives a description of Brazilian colonial life. Luiz Edmundo did fine service in writing it. By translating it, Dorothea H. Momsen has made people of the English-speaking countries her debtors, especially teachers and students of Hispanic American history.

In her epilogue, Mrs. Momsen tells how the viceregal period ended in Brazil, mentions the later basic political developments there, and describes the transformation that has taken place in Rio since 1904. Following the epilogue are thirty-four full-page illustrations which show many of these changes and give a good idea of the capital's present beauty. An abbreviated list of the bibliography used by Dr. Edmundo is included in the volume.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

*Printing in the Americas.* By JOHN CLYDE OSWALD. (New York: The Gregg Publishing Co., 1937. Pp. xli, 565. Illus. \$7.50).

This is a timely volume by the former publisher of *The American Printer* who began the study in 1924. The book is concerned with the introduction of printing into the various portions of the western



hemisphere together with Greenland and Hawaii. The 91 chapters deal with the internal political divisions of the United States and Canada, with several colonies in the hemisphere, and with the individual states of Hispanic America. Other subjects treated are indicated by such chapter headings as: (I) "What Printing brought to the New World"; (II) "The First Newspapers"; (III) "First American Printing of the Bible"; (XVII) "Women in early American printing"; (LXVI) "Fine bookmaking"; (LXVII) "Typography"; (LXVIII) "Machines and Methods"; (LXIX) "Printing organizations"; etc. In several instances, chapters deal with individual printers. Although the work is not entirely logical in its organization, it is most certainly comprehensive in scope. There are, however, two great faults—there is no bibliography, and footnotes are few. The index is excellent.

Students of Hispanic American history will find most interesting the chapters dealing with the countries to the south of us. In Mexico Giovanni Paoli, an Italian, set up the first press, but no copies of his 1539 publications are extant. The earliest existing volume is Juan Zumárraga's *Doctrina Christiana*, dated 1543. Wood engraving began in Mexico in 1571. The first Mexican periodical was published at Mexico City in 1728. In this chapter the author would have done well to have examined Emilio Valton's *Impresos Mexicanos del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1935). The first printer in Peru was the Italian Antonio Ricardo who set up a printing office in 1581. The first book appeared in 1584. The first periodical was the *Gazeta de Lima* founded in 1744. Here a reference to Medina's *La Imprenta en Lima* (4 vols., Santiago, 1904-1907) would have been helpful. The first press in Brazil was set up in Recife near the beginning of the eighteenth century, the exact date being unknown. In each of the other colonies the first date, so far as known, is given for the establishment of printing and for the appearance of the first periodical. In connection with printing in Colombia it is interesting to know that the only extant copy of the first book printed there (*Septenario al Corazón Doloroso de María Santísima*, 1738) has just been acquired by the Library of Congress at a price under \$50.00. The book was from the Jesuit press at Bogotá.

As a convenient summary of printers and printing in America this volume is excellent, and students of Hispanic American history should refer to it as a concise ready reference.

The George Washington University.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

*Phantom Crown: the Story of Maximilian and Carlota of Mexico.* By BERTITA HARDING. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis and New York, 1934. Pp. 368. \$3.50.)

*Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico. Memoirs of his Private Secretary.* By JOSÉ LUIS BLASIO. (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1934. Pp. 227. \$3.00.)

*Maximiliana* has been enriched by these two books. Time can only add emphasis to that fact, for both authors have done excellently well. *Maximiliana* needs, and that badly, works which will help to complete the story of this phase of world's history. The Maximilian episode was, of course, only a phase of the French intervention in Mexico. And the Mexican expedition itself was only a phase of the larger game which Napoleon III was playing. For Napoleon III was, if we take him at his word, fully determined to make the power of France felt wherever there were wrongs to be righted and injustices to be undone, no matter in what part of the world this might be needed. The complete story, therefore, of these two babes in the international jungle land has not yet been written any more than that the complete story of the far-flung enterprises of Napoleon III and his overweeningly ambitious consort Eugénie has been written. Mrs. Harding and Señor Blasio have done their bit, and done it very well indeed.

The two books are of course very different. Señora B. Leonarz de Harding has produced an intriguing, éaptivating, and brilliant piece of writing. The atmosphere which has been created for the background of the story is matched only by the extreme humanness of the work. Maximilian and Charlotte are human beings, and are all the more interesting because she has succeeded in keeping them so. She has kept the background always in the foreground, which is necessary. For the larger phase is of the national imperialism of the Lord and Lady, or the Lady and Lord, of the Seine. The book is divided into various parts, dealing with the prologue, the plot, the play, the curtain, the epilogue, and the storehouse. There is also a bibliography and an index. The binding is both attractive and substantial.

Mrs. Harding begins by laying out the background. She gives a spicy account of Wien at the time of the two Strausses, their waltzes, and the culinary artistry of Frau Johann Strauss the Elder. The old Wien could hardly have been possible without the *Apfelstrudel*, and few there were who excelled Frau Strauss in the making of it. Mrs. Harding then brings into the picture the family of which the Dowager-

Mother Archduchess Frederika Sophie was the real head, as far as the four sons were concerned. It was the indomitable Sophie who sought to make Maximilian and his three brothers useful Hapsburgers. From this point, Mrs. Harding unravels her story in a delightfully interesting manner. No justice can be done to a book of this nature in a brief review. The reviewer, therefore, recommends its reading, and then its rereading and use as a reference book. Her human portrait of Maximilian and Charlotte will grow more brilliant with time.

Blasio's book is very different. It is an account of his intimate relations with Maximilian, in the capacity, most of the time, of private secretary. There is a ring of sincerity in these memoirs that is altogether refreshing. Blasio was something more than just a private secretary. The copy before us suffers from omissions which a too rigid regard for space has evidently demanded. Nor is the book improved by the foreword of Carleton Beals. One who essays the rôle of writing a foreword should be accurate, at least. Charlotte did not go "raving mad", nor did she die in 1926, but in 1927. Neither did Maximilian embody in his decrees the whole of the reform laws, which were not the work of Juárez alone, nor have *all* historians ignored the real nature of Maximilian's work for reform in Mexico. Maximilian neither came to Mexico to oppose the reform laws, nor was he the illiberal in religious matters that Beals insinuates. Nor is the statement that Seward demanded the immediate withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico in accordance with facts. These inaccuracies will certainly find no favor among historians. But that with which the historian is here concerned are the memoirs themselves. And the memoirs, although mutilated by omissions and condensation, as noted above, are invaluable in a study of Mexican and world history. Blasio, like Mrs. Harding, has a great admiration for Maximilian, but he is less critical than Mrs. Harding. Blasio's book is divided into three parts: appendices, notes, and an index. Part I deals with the court; Part II with events from Miramar to Rome; and Part III with Querétaro. The appendices contain the "Treaty of Miramar", the "Plans for Maximilian's Escape", and the "Disposition of Maximilian's Body". This statement from Blasio himself explains his reason for writing the memoirs:

I have written these pages with no pretense at being a historian or a *littérateur*, but with the sole desire that the historical figure, which so many have endeavored to slander, might become better known. I have set down my reminiscences impartially, without passion or rancor. I have also endeavored to inspire a sym-

pathetic understanding of the personage who, as a ruler, may have committed great errors, but who, as a man, possessed the most noble and loyal, and the greatest heart that could exist.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

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*El Cristal Indígena*. By AUGUSTO ARIAS. (Quito: Editorial América, 1934. Pp. 209.)

The intellectual history of the Audiencia of Quito is yet to be written and even in Ecuador the materials are scanty. Outside of the work of Isaac Barrera, *Quito Colonial*, issued some years ago, there is nothing which serves to illumine this fairly dark epoch of colonial history.

Augusto Arias has done a splendid service in revealing in this small volume the personality and achievements of the outstanding figure of the colony, Doctor Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo. Outside of a few sketches this is the only convenient volume in which Espejo is studied. In 1912, the Concejo Municipal de Quito ordered the publication of the extant writings of Espejo and two volumes were issued. This bulky production, long since out of print, carries a critical study from the pen of perhaps the greatest Ecuadorean historian, Federico González Suárez. Augusto Arias has employed all the available printed sources concerning Espejo and has consulted manuscripts regarding him in several of the rich private libraries of Quito, notably that of Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. The result is a happy combination of biography and critique which reveals fairly adequately the rôle and importance of this singular personage in the late eighteenth century in Quito.

Dr. Espejo was of mixed blood, Indian and Negro. Born in the most complete squalor, his rise to intellectual fame is all the more noteworthy. In 1767, he obtained his degree in medicine, completing his studies with the Dominicans, the first to introduce a chair of medicine into Ecuador. A few years later, he was admitted to practice and associated with the Hospital de la Misericordia. His work displays a wide knowledge of contemporary medical science. The historian's interest in him, however, is somewhat different. Espejo normally passes as one of the three great forerunners of the emancipation, together with Miranda and Nariño. It is therefore peculiarly significant that he achieved a wide and varied culture at a time when such was no easy task. Augusto Arias devotes marked attention to the



readings of Espejo, to the books which contributed to his intellectual formation. These were fairly numerous for the time—the works of the Spanish Padre Isla and Feijóo, the Latin classics, the theologians, and the patristic commentators. The citations in his writings are frequent and abundant, and make easy the labor of following his cultural development.

Aside from his purely medical writings, a number of important items testify to his productivity. In 1786, he issued his *Defensa de los curas de Riobamba* and a year later his *Cartas Riobambenses*. His way, unfortunately, was not an easy one. Espejo suffered imprisonment twice and was actively persecuted by Presidente Villalengua. On one occasion he was forced to make the long journey overland to the head of the viceroyalty, Bogotá, to exonerate himself. From 1787 until his death in 1795, his life was agitated by the hostility of the governing element. Espejo thought deeply and wisely regarding the course of affairs in America. A lone, solitary figure, he was not a leader of masses and certainly the last person to provoke the clash with the mother country. Nevertheless, his serene writings and encyclopedic knowledge prepared his countrymen for the break which was to begin in August of 1809. His doctrine is somewhat complex. Strangely enough for the late eighteenth century, he thought in terms of nationalism, in the sense that only native born *criollos* were to engage in administrative functions. His concept went so far as to embrace the clergy and make him an advocate of a national clerical element. Espejo left a profound mark on another personality very intimately bound up with the first outburst of separatist sentiment in Quito, namely, the Marqués de Selva Alegre, Don Juan Pío Montúfar. This equally remarkable individual, whose residence was a veritable salon in the midst of a not very lively cultural existence, was close to Espejo and thoroughly comprehensive of him. Perhaps here we have the strongest link between Espejo and the final emancipation.

This book of Sr. Arias is short and written with a delightful literary flavor. It will undoubtedly help to situate Espejo among the really great Americans. The intellectual history of the Audiencia de Quito is altogether too little worked. Figures such as Pedro Vicente Maldonado, José Mejía, Juan Bautista Aguirre and Juan de Velasco all demand investigation which will make the cultural progress of Quito appear less obscure and barren. The Grupo América, under whose direction this little work is published deserves the highest credit. Its

existence is one of the happiest signs of a vigorous intellectual activity in present day Quito.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

*L'Empire Oublié. 1861—L'Aventure Mexicaine—1867.* By GEORGE DELAMARE. Preface by GENERAL WEYGAND. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, [c. 1935]. Pp. 252, 1 l. 15 francs.)

It would probably be considered unfair to subject this volume to one of the critical reviews that are the specialty of the so-called "learned" journals. A list of the works of the author shows his interest in fiction rather than in history while his bibliography is frankly given and shows a very general and scant preparation for his task (not a single title in Spanish is given).

What is found here is a readable account of the Mexican adventure of France as seen from that country by a Frenchman. The personal sketches of the chief actors are effectively and at times even skilfully presented by means of imaginary conversations and other literary devices. Most history students would be inclined to take issue, however, with the ideas as presented in connection with the Jecker Bond deal, the English and Spanish responsibility during the early stages of the intervention, the character ascribed to Juárez (who incidentally is seldom said to be an Aztec) and the general character of Mexican leaders of whom the author says:

La plupart de ces gens étaient braves, mais d'une abjecte cupidité, prêts à vendre, pour un sac de piastres, leur patrie, leur femme, leur fille et eux-mêmes.

Charlotte the regal and Maximilian the dilettante in Mexico are rather well presented though the emphasis is seen in the two versions given of the empress's insanity. The idea of an obscure poison distilled by an Indian sorcerer provides a most "interesting" paragraph that is barely offset by a single sentence to the effect that some think Charlotte was a paranoiac, a victim of a persecution mania.

For the historian this volume may be used as an interesting account to be scanned for possible interpretations as to motives and characters. Details connected with things French are probably quite accurate, while those dealing with Mexico are obviously less reliable.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

Columbia, S. C.

*A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection.* Compiled by RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER. (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1937. Pp. viii [2], 295. \$5.00.)

This is one of the most important volumes of its type to appear within recent years, if, indeed, it is not the most important. It was printed by order of the trustees of the Newberry Library in an edition of five hundred copies at the Lakeside Press of R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, and its format is in keeping with its contents. Dr. Butler, the learned and industrious custodian of the collection is a worthy successor of the former custodian, now custodian emeritus, Miss Clara A. Smith. Both of them have been of incalculable aid to many investigators and have emphasized Mr. Ayer's dictum that the collection is one for use. The Board of trustees is imbued with the same generosity, feeling "that students of American history should know of the existence, location and availability of the manuscript material here recorded".

In her introduction, Dr. Butler modestly says that the volume "claims no merit beyond that of a finding list and in many instances the descriptions are not definitive". The check list has the following subdivisions: North America; Spanish America; Philippine Islands; Hawaiian Islands; Indian Languages; Philippine Languages; Hawaiian Languages; and there is an excellent index. Entries are by author, title, or official heading. Arbitrary titles have been given to some anonymous items. "Bound volumes and bundles of manuscripts relating to the same subject are treated as single items" for obvious reasons. "Photographs, photostats and transcripts are listed in the same form as originals, the location of originals being indicated when possible". No exhaustive search has been made to ascertain the pieces that have been published, but when this information was near at hand it has been inserted.

The section "Spanish America" (pp. 119-159) is of chief interest to students of Hispanic America; but the succeeding sections "Philippine Islands" (pp. 160-184), "Indian Languages" (pp. 186-213), and "Philippine Languages" (pp. 214-221) will also be found of considerable interest and value. It is, of course, impossible within the scope of this review to mention the most notable items, but they are many. In all sections there is an amazing number of originals. Indeed, this is easily one of the greatest collections of special manuscripts in the United States. One of the most valuable originals is the second

volume of Bartolome de las Casas, "*Historia general de Indias*". The Philippine manuscripts, both originals and copies, were used by Blair and Robertson in their Philippine Islands series, Mr. Ayer with great generosity lending his manuscripts for that purpose; and the transcripts gathered by the editors of that series are also in the collection.

The volume without any pretense of boasting shows modestly the great value of this collection. Much history has already been written from these manuscripts. Much more will be written in the future.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

### AMERICAS AID RED CROSS WORK IN WAR-TORN SPAIN

Laying aside their individual sympathies for either of the contending forces in the Spanish Civil War, the Spanish-speaking republics of the new world and the United States and Canada have accepted a higher concept of service: to help impartially the victims of this tragic strife through generous gifts to the International Red Cross Committee, now working to ameliorate suffering among both government and insurgent forces.

To date, a fund of approximately \$200,000 has been raised to be used by the International Committee in Spain and of this sum a major part has been donated by Red Cross Societies of the new world.

Red Cross purchases for distribution in Spain have consisted chiefly of pharmaceutical and surgical supplies, dressings, biologicals, surgical instruments, foodstuffs for children and hospitals, X-ray equipment, hospital beds and equipment, ambulances and stretchers. In addition to the above, many of the Red Cross Societies have donated and shipped clothing, medical and surgical supplies, and foodstuffs to Spain for distribution by the International Red Cross Committee.

This committee has not undertaken to carry on its relief work by sending its own medical staff and equipment to Spain, for long experience has proved that with limited funds the greatest good can be obtained by using the established local agencies. Therefore, the delegates of the committee—all of whom are neutrals—have been scattered throughout Spain, one or two in each of the strategic centers of both the government and insurgents.

The work of the delegates does not stop, however, with the distribution of supplies and funds to local agencies. An intricate and far-reaching system for the exchange of family news has been set up which has already answered more than 174,000 inquiries. The International Committee is also giving special attention to the exchange of prisoners of war, and the care of the thousands of orphaned children.

Here in the United States the 12,000 chapters and branches of

the American Red Cross are preparing to hold the annual Roll Call, which enlists the support of more than 4,000,000 citizens for the international and national work of the organization. The American Red Cross receives all of its funds in the form of membership dues and gifts from the American people, none from the Federal Government. The gifts of the American Red Cross to the International Committee for its work in Spain, and its gifts to other Red Cross Societies when disaster visits their lands are helpful expressions of sympathy from the several million Americans who enroll in the Red Cross each Fall. Everyone is invited to join the Red Cross and have a share in its work. The Roll Call will be held this year from November 11 to 25.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT CORTÉS'S HORSES

Perhaps the greatest single account of the conquest of Mexico, as well as the most interesting from the point of view of the horseman, is that by Bernal Díaz. The first published edition of his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* was edited by Alonso Remón<sup>1</sup> in 1632. It gained immediate popularity but the writer, who belonged to the Mercedarian order, changed certain portions to advance his society. The first English translation was completed by Maurice Keating<sup>2</sup> and published in London in 1800. This was followed in 1844 by a new, and in some respects better, translation by Lockhart.<sup>3</sup> Although the work has appeared in several translations since then, in various languages, it was not until the García<sup>4</sup> edition appeared in 1904, that the correct text of the original manuscript was made available. Genaro García published the exact text of the original manuscript which has been preserved in Guatemala in Díaz's own handwriting. In spite of the many translations, it was not until Mr. Maudslay<sup>5</sup> published his version in 1908, based on the García edi-

<sup>1</sup> *Sacada a luz*, por el P. M. Fr. Alonso Remón, Madrid, 1632.

<sup>2</sup> *True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, translated by Maurice Keating, London, 1800.

<sup>3</sup> *The Memoirs of the Conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo Written by Himself*, translated by J. I. Lockhart, London, 1844.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. por Genaro García, México, 1904.

<sup>5</sup> *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, translated from the García edition by Percival Maudslay, London, 1908-1916.

tion, that a work of unquestioned truth and accuracy was available. Mr. Maudslay translated the whole voluminous text for the Hakluyt society.

Bernal Díaz may have had, with the rest of the conquerors, a lust for gold, a blind faith in religion, a pride of race, and at times been cruel and arrogant, but he had more than this. He had the courage and ability to tell the story as he knew it, and to produce a masterpiece. And from the beginning he shows his interest in and knowledge of horses. After speaking of the difficulty of obtaining good mounts,<sup>6</sup> he sets out to give a complete list of the animals embarking for Mexico, with characteristic comments on their individual abilities:

. . . and the horses were divided up among the ships, and loaded; mangers were erected and a store of maize and hay was put on board. I will place all the names of the mares and horses down from memory.

Captain Cortés had a dark chestnut stallion which died when we reached San Juan Ulua.

Pedro de Alvarado and Hernando López de Ávila had a very good sorrel mare, turning out good both for tilting and for racing. When we arrived at New Spain Pedro de Alvarado took his half either by purchase or by force.

Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero had a swift grey mare which Cortés bought for him with his gold [shoulder?] knot.

Juan Velásquez de Leon also had a sturdy grey mare which we called "La Rabona" [bob-tailed]. She was fast and had a good mouth (*muy rrebuelta*).<sup>7</sup>

Cristóbal de Olid had a dark brown horse that was satisfactory.

Francisco de Montejo and Alonzo de Ávila had a parched sorrel, useless for war.

Francisco de Morla had a dark brown stallion fast and well reined.

Juan de Escalante had a light bay horse with three white stockings, although she was not very good.

Diego de Ordás had a barren grey mare, a pacer, who therefore seldom ran.

Gonzalo Domínguez, an excellent horseman, had a dark brown horse, a good one and a grand runner.

Pedro González de Trujillo, had a good chestnut horse, a beautiful color, and he ran very well.

Morón, a settler of Bayamo had a pinto with white stockings on his forefeet and well reined.

Baena, a settler of Trinidad, had a black horse that was spotted, but he turned out worthless.

Lares, a fine horseman, had a very good bay horse which was a good runner.

Ortiz the musician and Bartolomé García, who had gold mines, had a black

\*Horses were extremely valuable at this period, those in Cortés's expedition costing from 400 to 500 *pesos de oro* each. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1844), I, 262.

"*Muy rrebuelta*." *Revuelto* meant "to turn rapidly" or to "rein well", thus in modern horse jargon, *muy revuelto* means to have a good mouth.

horse called "El arriero" [he probably looked like a pack mule] and he was one of the best horses taken in the fleet.

Juan Sedeño, a settler of Habana, had a brown mare that foaled on board ship.<sup>8</sup> Sedeño was the richest soldier in the fleet, having a vessel, a mare, a negro, and many provisions.<sup>9</sup>

Thus did the rugged old conqueror recall all the horses that first went to Mexico, giving the name, color, and characteristics, and leaving us a record that Prescott says was "minute enough for the pages of a sporting calendar".<sup>10</sup>

The several translators of this passage all disagree, principally as to color, but in some places as to the characteristics of the horses as well. When it is remembered that, *después de Diós*, horses were the most important factor in the conquest, this variation seems rather serious. The chart on the following page summarizes the different translations for the color adjectives of Díaz.

A glance shows that they all agree on only one color, *ruzio* (grey), and that they all disagree on one color, *alazán* (sorrel). One of the writers is consistent. Needless to say it is Graham, who was, so to speak, raised on a Spanish saddle. He varies from the above translation, but the variation is primarily one of location rather than any particular difference. For example the Westerner's pinto is the Englishman's piebald, the Easterner's calico, the cowboy's paint, the Brazilian's *cavallo pedrêz*, the Mexican's *pintojo*, and the Spaniard's *pío*. In London, the Spanish *alazán tostado* is called a dark chestnut, while here on the Pacific slope we would call the horse a parched sorrel. There are, naturally, exceptions to these generalizations, but in the majority of cases these names are used. Thus, what to Díaz would be a *castaño escuro* could either be a dark brown or a dark bay, and similarly a *castaño algo claro* could be either a light chestnut or a bay. The *bayo* of the Spaniard was a cream-colored horse that was closer to the palomino or buckskin than a modern bay. Properly, the true bays have a creamy tan shade which distinguishes them from the browns or chestnuts. Occasionally, however, a horse is found which is so close to the borderline that only an exceptionally keen perception could possibly discriminate the two colors.

<sup>8</sup> Counting this colt, Cortés arrived on the mainland with sixteen horses. This accounts for the apparent discrepancies between different historians. Some say he took fifteen horses and others say he arrived on the mainland with sixteen.

<sup>9</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera* . . ., (García edition), I, 65-66.

<sup>10</sup> Prescott, *op. cit.*, I, 262.



At first glance it seems as though Spanish color names of horses are too complex to be translated. It soon becomes apparent why this seems to be true. The Spaniards used fewer base or terminal names, and consequently had to use more modifying adjectives and combinations of words to distinguish properly the various colorations. The Americans having more foundation names need fewer modifying adjectives. For example the Spanish word *overo* (*hobero*) was used as a base name on almost every horse having more than one color. Thus an *overo algo* (literally, "speckled somewhat") was our spotted horse and an *overo labrado* ("speckled in patterns") was our pinto horse. Thus when Díaz says that Baenas's horse was *un cavallo hovero algo sobre morzillo* we know that he speaks of a spotted black horse. When he says Morón's horse is an *hovero labrado de las manos*, we may see a pinto horse, probably with white forefeet. In each case we have but one word, spotted or pinto, to cover the same combination that Díaz needs two or more words to describe.

*Hobero* (*overo*) has in modern times come to signify a color very different than when used by Díaz. As time passed the *h* was dropped and the *b* turned to *v*, leaving the modern *overo*. Many dictionaries, including the dictionary of the Royal Academy<sup>11</sup> falsely attribute the derivation to the Latin *ovum*. Actually the etymology goes back to the Arabian name for the *Avis Tarde* (bustard), the first suggestion of this being found in Alcalá<sup>12</sup> who gives the Arabic as *huberi* and the Spanish as *hobero*. Covarrubias<sup>13</sup> quotes Father Guadix to show that it comes from the Arabic. The color reference, strangely enough, does not come from the color of the plumage of the bustard, but from the color of the flesh when cooked (*no tanto por la color de la pluma, como por la color de la carne después de cozida*).<sup>14</sup> One traveler<sup>15</sup> said the flesh was grey when cooked, and, since wild fowl generally mottles when cooked, no doubt the Castilian Dictionary<sup>16</sup> which gave the definition as white with scattered dark spots was very close to the

<sup>11</sup> Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, Madrid, 1925.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramēte saber la lēgua arauiga* (Granada, 1505).

<sup>13</sup> Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellano o Española* (Madrid, 1611).

<sup>14</sup> Covarrubias, *Del origen y principio de lengua, castellana* (compuesto por Bernardo Aldrete; Madrid, 1674), p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> Johannes Chardin Miles, *Journal du voyage du chevalier en Perse* (Londres, 1686).

<sup>16</sup> *Diccionario Castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes* (Madrid, 1780).

## CHART

<i>Owner</i>	<i>Días</i>	<i>Keating</i>	<i>Lockhart</i>	<i>Maudslay</i>	<i>Graham</i>	<i>Author's Translation</i>
Cortés	castaño zayno	chestnut	dark chestnut	dark chestnut	black bay	dark chestnut
Alvarado	alazana	chestnut	brown	sorrel	bright bay	sorrel
Puerto- carrero	rruzia	grey	grey	grey	grey	grey
León	rruzia	grey	grey	grey	grey	grey
Olid	castaño escuro	dark chestnut	dark brown	dark chestnut	dark bay	dark brown
Montejo	alazán tostado	dark chestnut	sorrel	parched sorrel	dark chestnut	parched sorrel
Morla	castaño escuro	dark chestnut	dark chestnut	dark chestnut	dark bay	dark brown
Escalante	castaño claro	light chestnut	light- colored	light chestnut	light bay	light bay
Ordás	rruzia	grey	grey	grey	grey	grey
Domínguez	castaño escuro	dark chestnut	dark brown	dark chestnut	dark bay	dark brown
Gonzáles	castaño perfecto	chestnut	brown- colored	chestnut	bay	chestnut
Morón	hovero labrado de las manos	dapple grey	small horse	dappled with stocking on fore- feet	piebald inclined toward black- white forefeet	pinto with white stocking on fore- feet
Baena	hovero algo sobre 'morzillo'	dappled somewhat black	darkish	dappled almost black	piebald almost black	spotted, black horse
Lares	castaño algo claro	light chestnut	light chestnut	light chestnut	light bay	bay
Ortiz	oscuro	a horse	dark	dark	black	black
Sedeño	castaña	chestnut	chestnut	chestnut	brown	brown

correct color. Modern use of the word *overo* has almost as many definitions as there are dictionaries, depending on the location of its use, although any translation in the present sense would not represent the color it did to Díaz in the sixteenth century.

Díaz commonly used eight or nine base color names in his descriptions: *ruzio* (grey), *castaña* (brown or chestnut), *alazán* (sorrel), *ruano* (roan), *overo* (denoting more than one color), *rodado* (dappled), *blanco* (white), and *morzillo* or *negro* (black). He almost never used *bayo* (cream colored), but occasionally would use *rodado* (dappled). With these as base names and combining them with adjectives such as *zaino*,<sup>17</sup> *escuro*, *perfecto*, *claro*, etc., he could arrive at almost any conceivable color scheme.

When Bernal Díaz saw enough variation in two horses to give each a different name, then certainly they should not be translated the same. It stands to reason that if Díaz, particular horseman that he was, thought two horses were of the same color he would have named them alike. If so, then certainly Maudslay errs in translating both *castaño zaino* and *castaño escuro* as dark chestnut. Díaz's *castaño claro* (light chestnut) would be the equal of our modern light bay and a *castaño algo claro* would be our bay. *Castano* alone would unquestionably indicate chestnut color, but if this is termed in modern English, merely chestnut, then Díaz's color, *castaño perfecto*, would have no meaning. Rather Díaz spoke of an ordinary brown as *castaño* and a real chestnut as *castaño perfecto*.

Lockhart and Keating translated Díaz in the early nineteenth century and therefore did not have the advantage of the García edition, but nevertheless they frequently translated the same word into different colors. Díaz himself was not consistent about his spelling. He wrote as he spoke, and spelled as he pronounced. He spells *ruzio* in one place as *rruzia*, again a few lines on as *rruyzia*, and later as *rruçia*. Perhaps Lockhart felt this inconsistency and this explains why he translated *castaño escuro* first as dark brown and a little later as dark chestnut and then again as dark brown. Maudslay, using the correct text was more consistent, but was probably incorrect in his translation of the word *overo*, as he fails entirely to distinguish between a

<sup>17</sup> Maudslay apparently translates this word to mean both dark and vicious, for he says Cortés's horse (which was a *castaño zaino*), was a vicious dark chestnut. *Zaino* when applied to horses and combined with *castaño* indicates a shade of color a trifle darker than *castaño escuro*, but always denotes a solid color scheme. Used in this sense it does not mean false or treacherous.

pinto, a spotted, and a dappled horse. In the case of the horse of Diego de Ordás, he says, "A grey mare, barren, tolerably good",<sup>18</sup> while the word *pasadero* as used (*yegua rruçia machorra pasadera*),<sup>19</sup> means, when speaking of a horse, a pacer. The clue is there, for Díaz ends the sentence saying she seldom ran (*y aunque corría poco*), and of course a pacer does not run very often without breaking its gait. Maudslay translates the latter half of this sentence as, "but not fast". I feel that Graham might have made a little finer distinction between the horse of Escalante and that of Lares. The former, according to Díaz, was a *castaño claro*, and the latter a *castaño algo claro*. Graham translates them both as light bay, and if they were both the same color Díaz would have designated them as such. Graham, translating *castaño claro* as light bay, can hardly be criticised, but a *castaño algo claro* certainly would not be a light bay but a true bay. When Graham translates *castaño* as brown he cannot be questioned any more than can Maudslay's translation of the same word as chestnut. However, Graham is probably closer to Díaz, as Maudslay, then, has to translate *castaño perfecto* also as chestnut, while Graham translates this as bay. Graham varies a little in his translations between 1915<sup>20</sup> and 1930<sup>21</sup> although this is not great.

Among the many Moorish contributions to Spanish culture, equestrian nomenclature is included. The Arabians, always picturesque, had the most interesting names for their horses. A good example is their term for a spotted horse, *Hejar-el-wad*, meaning "stones of the river", perhaps the most appropriate yet coined. The Spaniard would call his spotted horse an *hovero algo*, the word *hovero* coming from the Arabic word *hoberi*. A favorite Spanish custom was to name their horses according to the impression they received on first seeing the animal. Thus we have *labuno* (wolf colored), *gateado* (cat colored), *pangare* (bay with fern colored muzzle), or a *pardisco* (mouse colored). Cortés's horse was called simply enough *Morzillo*, because it was black. Sandoval's horse, considered by Bernal Díaz as the best in either the old or new world, was called *Motilla*, meaning a tuft or a crop, although we are not told just where it grew. De Soto's horse

<sup>18</sup> Maudslay, *True History of the Conquest*, I, 87.

<sup>19</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera* . . . (García edition), I, 66.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, *Bernal Díaz del Castillo* (New York, 1915).

<sup>21</sup> Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, *Horses of the Conquest* (London, 1930).



was *Azeitunero* because of his olive-colored coat. Velásquez's horse was called *La Rabona* because of her short tail. A black-faced horse would be called *cabeza de moro*.

The conquistadores loved colorful horses, whether that color lay in their coat or in their actions. An old English saying holds that no good horse can be of a bad color. However, the conquistadores must have felt that no good color can be on a bad horse, so much importance did they lay to coloration, but then, as one writer says, *pero en este de colores, camine cada uno a su gusto*.<sup>22</sup>

Obviously no one can ever translate Díaz exactly as he thought or as he wrote. Too many years have passed and with their going the meaning, and in some cases the actual form and spelling, of the words has changed, until now only a haunting suggestion remains to remind us of the previous content. However this may be, Bernal Díaz was a sincere and thorough-going horseman, and the very fervor with which he relates the deeds and characteristics of the horses of the expedition, both good and bad, even as a soldier with scarcely concealed pride might point out the actions and courage of a younger brother, reveals the love he bore them, as well as giving us a hint of the part they played in the conquest. When translating Díaz, the references to horses should be carefully studied and at least a degree of consistency maintained, for no more fascinating references may be found than those colorful incidents that abound in the "True History".

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### THE GAUCHO<sup>1</sup>

When the Spanish conquistador mounted his Spanish horse and began to chase the Spanish cow over the American plains, a very important class of American society had its beginning. The new American environments moulded this Spanish cattle herder into dif-

<sup>22</sup> *Libro de Ejercicios de la Gineta*, por el capitán Don Bernardo de Vargas Machuca. Quoted in R. B. C. Graham, *Horses of the Conquest*, p. 126.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is one of a series of studies of the gaucho, made possible by the grant of the Class of 1905 Fellowship from Mount Holyoke College for the year 1935-1936. See also, *The Spanish Review* (November 1935, pp. 87-89), *The Pacific Historical Review* (March 1936, pp. 61-70), and *The Moraga Quarterly* (Winter, 1936, pp. 73-82) for other items.

ferent and distinctive types, types that varied in accordance with the characteristics of the land over which our Spaniard rode, the people with whom he rode, and the kind of work he did.

In Central America and Mexico, Spanish institutions were firmly established; the Spanish cow-man, with his Spanish name, *vaquero*, persisted. This Spanish *vaquero* became the grandfather of our cowboy. In South America, on the other hand, new races came into being. In Chile, the Spanish cattleman became the *guaso*. Over Venezuela and Colombia rode the plainmen, or *llaneros*. In Brazil there were *gauderios*. On the Argentinian pampas grew the *gaucho*. All these types had much in common, as one might expect from their common ancestry, but each became distinct, different from all the rest.

The *gaucho* was comparatively late in his entrance into society. At first, the Argentinian cattleman bore the proper Spanish name of *vaquero* and led the proper Spanish herdsman's life. But between 1750 and 1775 there came a change, and with it, a new type of individual, a new kind of life—therefore, a new name. The *vaquero* had become a *gaucho*. Just how this came about, nobody knows.

Our new *gaucho* was usually of Indian as well as Spanish ancestry; his name serves as proof. He came into existence at a time when several interesting developments were taking place in Argentinian society. The Pampas Indians were riding the southern frontier in an enthusiastic hunt for Spanish horses, cows, and women. Dissatisfied Spaniards and mestizos had left Spanish for Indian ranks, where they might revel in new social prestige and a pleasant increase in number of wives. As the export of cattle hides became an exhilarating and profitable commercial enterprise, contraband trade thrived in the east. On the west Argentinian front there flourished a parallel, but legitimate, trade, and long lines of high-wheeled carts creaked across the plains, long-eared mules climbed the mountains, binding Buenos Aires with Potosí and Lima to the North, and with Santiago to the South.

Two things seem basically important in the confusion of this picture. One is the growth of a scorned, outlawed, disinherited, wandering mestizo rider. The general consensus of opinion as to the meaning of the term "*gaucho*" is that it is related to an Indian word meaning "illegitimate", "forsaken", "vagabond". And an outcast of society the *gaucho* remained until he became that society's defense in the war of independence. The second basic element in the picture

involves the hunt for hides. The gaucho was primarily a hunter, not a herdsman. He still rode the Spanish horse, but his purpose was to get the hide of the wild cow or horse he chased.

By the year 1800 our gaucho was well established in the Plata region. A man of the frontier, he was the lord of the open plain, and the country supported him. The wild horses he caught with bolas and lasso furnished transportation; saddle and blanket served as pillow and bed; wild cows became the steak which was his food. If skilled in the use of the guitar and in song, he could count upon the grateful hospitality of any rancho at which he might call. If anyone chanced to resent his will, he was prepared to back it with the law made through his personal power to wield a knife. Money was needed only to deck his horse with the proper silver trappings, to buy a brightly colored handkerchief for his own neck or a bottle of perfume for his lady, and there was always some *hacendado* willing to pay a man for breaking a horse or for riding to a cattle hunt. Life was therefore independent and pleasant.

The gaucho began life, then, as a mestizo hunter for hides. But eventually hides became hard to find. In a very literal sense, the cow, with the horse, had been the foundation of Argentinian society. Steak, served with the Paraguayan tea called mate, was almost the exclusive food of Argentinian rural society. Bones and fat were used as fuel for fires. Ropes and cords and lassos were made from strips of leather. Boats were made of hide, as were such other items as Indian tents, the curtained doors of ranchos, buckets used for drawing water or for carrying ore in mines. In fact almost all containers used in the transportation of any product were of hides. Even such a thing as molasses was carried in its hide bag. At first gaucho boots were made from skin stripped from the legs of cow or horse. Gleaming cattle skulls served as chairs. Cart wheels were bound with hide which, drying, tightened to provide the extra strength needed in long cross-country hauls.

Besides their manifold local uses, hides were the chief export. They were exchanged for all the other things for which the land had need. When the Pampas Indian tried to still his almost unquenchable thirst for strong drink—and by the way, he was reported to mix it with mare's blood or gunpowder to make it more potent—he stole Spanish cattle and used the hides as the coin with which to make his purchase. In similar exchange for hides, the creoles obtained negro

slaves, cloth for their clothes, any and all of the manufactured luxuries that came from Spain. There were months when records show a shipment of thousands of hides from Buenos Aires and Montevideo. And one must remember that in addition to these legitimate uses for hides, there existed a flourishing illegitimate contraband trade with Brazil and England.

As a result of the intensity of this search for their hides, the wild horses and cows largely vanished from the plains. Hide hunting then ceased to be a profitable business venture, and our gaucho found himself in a serious social predicament. He had always been scorned by the more respectable elements of society and had been tolerated merely for his occasional usefulness as a self-supporting economic tool. He had been a means for the accumulation of wealth by his social superiors. Now his one excuse for existence was going.

Fortunately for the gaucho, Spanish America at just this point began its war of independence with Spain. The hunter of hides became a successful soldier. Gaucho cavalry rode with San Martín to Chile, with Belgrano to the up-country of northwestern Argentina, with Artigas in Uruguay. When revengeful royalists marched down from Peru, gauchos under Güemes slammed Argentina's back door in their faces, made Argentinian independence sure. Through success, the gaucho achieved respectability, even though he was still strange to the society he was defending.

With the period of the long Unitarist-Federalist party struggle, the gaucho came into his barbaric own. All Argentina filled with gauchos going to war. Gaucho armies fought for all the little local, tyrant gauchos, who, in turn, fought for bigger gauchos, for local autonomy, and for personal profit. Over the whole thirty year period lay the shadow of the biggest gaucho, Juan Manuel de Rosas—a shadow to be dispelled only by that of his fellow gaucho—Urquiza.

During the brief lulls of peace in this period and for some twenty years after the wars, the gaucho filled in his spare time by reverting to his primitive trade of cattle hunter. But now he called it by a different name. Theoretically, he was again the Spanish herdsman, but that was mere seeming. It is true that the gaucho played an important part in the development of basic Argentinian industries—stock raising, leather, transport. That coöperation was unconscious and incidental. What the gaucho gloried in, was the thrill of danger, the feel of fast riding, hunting skills displayed in the use of bolas



and lasso. The gaucho interest in a cow was in chasing her, catching her, skinning her, eating her. Competition with beast or fellow gaucho was fundamental.

And then gaucho usefulness as a member of society was over. Wars were no longer in style; the cattle business had changed in character. Scientific breeding made cattle too expensive to entrust to the care of any gaucho. Cows now traveled to market by train. There was nothing left for the gaucho to do but to turn into an inefficient, melancholy peon, thereby ceasing to be a gaucho, or to ride on to the far frontiers. A brief respite was gained by war on the Indian front and in the desert under General Roca, but the end was at hand. Even the days of the old self-sufficiency on the pampa were gone; the gaucho was faced with the unhappy necessity of earning a living. Some rebelled, fought against the society that had no place for them, became that society's criminals.

The gaucho had begun life around 1775; he ended it around 1875; in his one hundred years of history he had merely progressed from outcast to outcast. But those years had been vital in importance in Argentinian history. They were years which had won independence; they had fought the political issue of Unitarism versus Federalism; they had stretched the frontier lines by defeating the Indian and peopling the desert; they had laid the foundations for the Argentinian economic pattern; they had made manifest the social conflict of rural versus urban society which is still one of Argentina's basic problems. In every one of these achievements the gaucho had played an active and important part.

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Sr. Enrique Naranjo M., consul for Colombia at Boston, has written in English an interesting pamphlet on *Irish Participation in Bolívar's Campaigns*. This is a reprint (1937) from the October, 1935, issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*. This reprint was issued by the Colombia Publishing Service, 10 Bridge St., New York City. Sr. Naranjo has written extensively in Colombian and other papers of Hispanic America, and has been an agency in the inculcating of cordial relations between the Americas. His criticisms have usually been well thought over and are stated in no captious spirit, while his praise of the United States is never fulsome and for

that reason sincere. He has lived in the United States for about sixteen years and consequently knows something of it. His children were all born here, but his wife is a Colombian.

Madaline W. Nichols's "The Gaucho", which appeared in *The Pacific Review* for March, 1936, has been reprinted in a small edition. The paper was read at the annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, at Santa Barbara, in December of 1935. Dr. Alejandro Bunge, editor of *Revista de Economía Argentina* will publish the bibliographical list of economic articles published in *Nosotros* which was compiled by Dr. Nichols and Mrs. Lucia Burk Kinnaird. The Gaucho article above noted was translated into Spanish for the historical conference at Buenos Aires.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission was held at Mineral Wells, Texas, on May 10, 1937. The Minutes of the meeting bring together a number of the reviews of Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda's two informing volumes of the series "Our Catholic Heritage in Texas", as well as the encomiums of a number of prominent churchmen.

A second edition of Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams's *The People and Politics of Latin America* will be issued before the end of the year. There will be certain revisions.

Information Bulletin No. 4, of the Committee in Latin-American Studies, was issued in May of this year. This has information concerning research projects in the several disciplines represented by the Committee as well as on field trips and recent publications.

The Universidad Nacional de México has published the first number of a new periodical, namely, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico, 1937). The director of the Instituto (created at the beginning of 1936), Sr. Rafael López, in a statement in the first issue, says that the object of the Instituto is "to complete the framework of university organs devoted to the research of those fundamental data showing the means of determining scientifically the cultural physiognomy of Mexico". Judging from the first issue, this would seem to be an excellent review.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### IMPRESSIONS OF HISPANIC AMERICAN ARCHIVES<sup>1</sup>

In 1940, the Republic of Cuba will celebrate the centenary of the founding of its National Archive, and upon that occasion its director, Captain Joaquín Llaverías, hopes to dedicate a new and suitable archival building. This statement calls attention to three outstanding impressions of the Hispanic American archives recently visited. These are, their age, the type of building occupied, and the character of the persons charged with their administration.

Upon two recent aerial trips to Hispanic America, I visited the national archive in each of thirteen countries. During the one recently made on behalf of the Texas and Pan American Exposition to be held in Dallas this year, I was in sixteen of the Hispanic American countries. Bolivia, Paraguay, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic were not included in this itinerary; consequently their archives were not visited. Of the sixteen countries visited, El Salvador and Ecuador do not as yet have national archives. While Nicaragua at one time had an archive, it was destroyed in the earthquake of 1931, and this country now has the problem of reconstructing the documentation for its history.

A notable feature of the Hispanic American archives is the age of a number of them. Although that of Cuba will soon celebrate a hundred years of existence, it is not the oldest in America. Besides this one, the centenary group includes those of Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil. Martín Rodríguez, then in charge of the executive power, issued the decree establishing an archive for the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, now Argentina, in 1821. That of Mexico was established in 1823, and an imperial decree of 1838 set up an archive in Brazil. Two of the Central American countries, Honduras and Costa Rica, boast of institutions of more than fifty years of age, while those of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, and Uruguay are of more recent origin. This chronology amply dem-

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the District of Columbia Library Association, May, 1937.

onstrates that these countries have recognized the necessity of preserving the records and papers relating to the history and development of their respective nations.

Not one of these countries has a building really adequate for the proper housing of documents and papers pertaining to its history and administration. Usually the archive is found in some old government building, perhaps last repaired many years ago. The complaints of the directors are universal regarding the physical surroundings of the materials in their care. The archive of Argentina is perhaps the best housed, occupying as it does the old Congressional palace which has been remodeled with a certain degree of fireproofing. It affords generally suitable quarters for the conservation and use of the documents. Uruguay likewise has a rebuilt structure in which steel and cement construction is used in addition to steel shelving. In Chile, the archive is housed in the more modern library building, but in rather inadequate quarters which are not fully fireproof. The authorities are looking forward to the construction of a new edifice dedicated entirely to the archive. In most of the other countries the archives are found on upper floors of old buildings. In Brazil, even the location is undesirable, because it is in a commercial section and near the War Department. It has been repeatedly declared most unsuitable by the director who desires a building in an isolated location with fireproof construction.

In all countries, the records and documents are placed on ordinary shelves, most of which are of wood. Cedar is used more than any other wood, because it resists the attack of the white ant which is so destructive to both ordinary woods and paper. The documents themselves are either bound or tied in bundles. Argentina and Venezuela at present are binding much of their material. Other countries, especially Mexico, Peru, and Chile, have great collections of papers which have been bound for many years. As already indicated, Uruguay has metal shelving and uses carton containers for its loose papers, while in Brazil, on account of climatic conditions, tin boxes are used for holding them. Cuba has vast amounts of documents tied in bundles which are protected at top and bottom with cardboard chemically treated to resist insects. These bundles are placed on their sides on the shelves with spaces between them for ventilation. This system permits constant inspection to avoid the ravages of tropical insects. Formerly in all the archives many of the papers were simply tied in



packages with little or no protection, but this situation is being rapidly remedied in every archive.

A fact which creates a most favorable impression is the competence of those charged with the direction of the archives of Hispanic American countries. Added to this, was the friendly reception given to the representative of The National Archives by the directors of the institutions. Most of these men are outstanding scholars in their respective countries. In general, archival administration is considered a professional task. Many of the directors have acted in their present official positions for more than ten years, and some have been employed in the archives for much longer periods in other capacities. The oldest in point of service, as director, is Dr. Horacio Urteaga of Peru, professor and historian, who was appointed in 1919. He is an authority on the history of the Incas and has published several volumes on this subject. Besides these, he edited the monumental *Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la Historia del Perú* (Lima, 1916-1927), and he has written a *Historia de la Civilización* (Lima, 1926). However, the dean of archival service in Hispanic America is Captain Joaquín Llaverías of Cuba who was first employed in the archive in 1899 and has been director since 1922. He has written the only history of the archives of any country in America. As well as being an authority in his chosen profession, he is an historian of note with several publications to his credit and is also a member of the Academia de Historia de Cuba. The archive of Mexico has been directed since 1920 by Señor Rafael López, editor and professor of literature. Señor João Alcides Bezerra Cavalcanti, who has been in charge of the Brazilian archive since 1921, is a philosopher and a prolific writer. Many of his articles appear in the annual volume of publications of the archive. When I called upon him, he was just completing his notes for a lecture on Spengler, which no doubt will soon be published. Dr. Ricardo Fernández Guardia, who was placed in charge of the archive of Costa Rica in 1928, is a leading historian of his country and has had extensive diplomatic experience. His *Historia de Costa Rica* (San José, 1905) is well known, and he has published many other works including *Crónicas Coloniales* (San José, 1921) and *La Independencia y otros episodios* (San José, 1928). Dr. Eloy González, professor, journalist, and senator, has recently, in 1934, taken charge of the archive of Venezuela. He has devoted much time to the study of the activities of Bolívar and has published three

volumes on *Bolívar en la Argentina* (Bogotá, 1928). He also has written a two volume *Historia de Venezuela hasta 1803* (Bogotá, 1930).<sup>2</sup> However, the younger members of the guild should not be overlooked. Dr. Ricardo Donoso, the archivist of Chile since 1927, is a young historian of great promise and a member of the Chilean Academy of History. Señor Juan Antonio Susto, who was made director of the Panamanian archive in 1931, has devoted himself to archival science since finishing his work at the university. He studied in the archives in Costa Rica and Spain and has published a *Catálogo de la Audiencia de Panamá del Archivo General de las Indias* (Madrid, 1926), as well as numerous historical works. The activities of these men demonstrate their deep interest in the preservation and administration of the documents in their care. They are all very much alive to the needs of their institutions, and if they do not accomplish more, it is owing to circumstances beyond their control. They were greatly interested in the problems encountered and the progress made in solving them by our own National Archives.

The basis of each of the Hispanic American archives is the materials produced by the colonial administrations of those regions. Five of them, those at Mexico, Bogotá, Lima, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro, are at the seat of the Spanish and Portuguese viceroyalties of the colonial period. The others are in cities which had either an audiencia or a captaincy general. During the three centuries of the colonial régime, there was accumulated a great mass of political, financial, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical records, documents, and papers. Those which have survived the vicissitudes of time, climate, carelessness, and revolution are found now mostly in the national archives of the respective countries. It is remarkable how much material has come down to posterity from those early centuries. Much of this is a counterpart of official papers to be found in Spain and Portugal. That is, in the Hispanic American archives, there are the original royal orders, letters, and communications from the home government to the viceroy or captain general, together with the minutes or drafts of the correspondence and documents sent from the colonial offices to the mother country, while in the Spanish and Portuguese archives, there are the original letters and reports of colonial

<sup>2</sup> Srta. Gertrude Feliu, graduate of the Library and Archival School in Barcelona, has been called to Venezuela to act as special adviser in library and archival work.

officials and drafts or minutes of the decrees and other communications sent out from Europe. It is true that neither of these collections is complete and that each complements the other in respect to these classes of records. It is needless to say that, on both sides of the ocean, there exist many unique documents relating to the history of the various nations of the American continent. Hence it is that in many important matters, such as the settlement of boundary disputes, the Hispanic American nations frequently have recourse to the Spanish and Portuguese archives in order to obtain documents either to defend the thesis maintained or to illustrate the subject in hand. For a study of the American colonies, use should always be made of the national archives of the several countries.

The second group of papers is that dealing with the period since independence. The division between this and the colonial group occurs from about 1810 to 1820. In every case, I believe, the materials for the national period in the archives are incomplete because certain departments of the government are decidedly loath to transfer their documents, although in a number of countries the law provides for periodic transfer from the administrative divisions to the archive. Only rarely are papers from the foreign office and the war department to be found in the national archive, a notable exception being in Chile where these papers have been deposited up to a relatively recent period. Treasury papers, protocols (notarial registers), and judicial documents as well as papers from some other ministries, such as promotion, public works, and public instruction, form the bulk of the documentation of the period since independence. In some countries, certain offices retain only the documents pertaining to the last five years. Note should be made that in Brazil most of the records for the period of the empire have been deposited in the national archive.

In each of these countries, the archive is authorized to receive in custody personal papers which have to do with the history of the country. There are numerous collections relating to the movements for independence, such as the papers of the delegation of the Cuban revolutionary party in New York or the papers of military leaders in other countries. Nearly 500 volumes of papers relating to Jesuit activities in the new world form a notable collection which was purchased in Spain in 1877 and was later placed in the custody of the Chilean archive.

In the matter of classification, the general rule is respect for the

archive of origin. That is, the papers pertaining to any office which originally filed them are kept together as a major unit. No very elaborate system of classification has been evolved anywhere. The three large groups indicated above, colonial, national, and individual, obtain in most places. The first two groups are subdivided naturally into subgroups referring to the various offices which existed for carrying on the administration of the colony or country. Much of the early material is in the form of bound volumes, and in general loose material is tied into legajos or bundles, as has already been indicated. These are numbered in various ways in series in order to make them accessible. In general, papers of a given office or group of offices are assigned to one room, and the volumes or bundles are labeled with numbers indicating the section of the shelving, the number of the shelf, and the number of the legajo or volume upon the shelf. Thus a system of classification by fixed location is in general use.

In cataloging, the card system is universally adopted. The cards are largely for individual documents or expedientes, although where the materials permit there are cards for the volume or bundle. A certain number of cross references are usually made. Each card indicates the title or nature of the document, the names of its author and the person to whom addressed, its date, and its location in the archive. In certain types of documents, especially judicial records, where inquiries are invariably by name, a card index of persons has been made.

There are no real guides in Spanish or Portuguese to any of the Hispanic American archives. *La historia de los Archivos de Cuba* (Habana, 1912), by Llaverías, has already been mentioned as the only volume of its kind. The *Memoria de 1924 del Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires, 1925) gives a summary statement regarding the Argentine institution, and the *Memoria Historica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1908) is a pamphlet sketching the history of the National Archive of Brazil. Brazil also has the only archive whose director publishes an annual report regularly. Brief statements by the directors in the *Memoria* of the corresponding ministry are given over mostly to immediate problems of administration. Mention may be made here of two guides of the Carnegie Institution of Washington: H. E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913) and Luis M. Perez, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives* (Washington, 1907).



A number of countries have published volumes of indexes which in reality are calendars. Thus Costa Rica has forty-three volumes of this type, Chile eleven, Brazil eight, and Cuba one, while others publish similar lists in their bulletins, as for example, Venezuela, Honduras, and Colombia. The archives of Argentina and Brazil have engaged most extensively in publication of documentary and other materials. Argentina can justly be proud of its forty-seven volumes of *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires* (Barcelona and Buenos Aires, 1907- ) and of the newly begun series, *El Consulado de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1936- ). The *Publicações do Archivo Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1886- ) of Brazil comprise more than thirty volumes. Some of these contain calendars, others documents selected from the archive, and still others articles of historical or philosophical character. Nine of the countries publish bulletins or reviews, that of Cuba being in continuous publication since 1902, and the others being established at more recent dates. In these are to be found the text of documents, calendars of papers from the archive, and other articles. It should be noted that very rarely are any of the articles devoted to general archival science.

The Hispanic American archives have numerous problems in common. Lack of personnel and inadequate buildings are a severe handicap in every country. Although in most republics the law provides for periodic transfer of documents to the archives, the fact is that everywhere there are agencies which do not coöperate. The result is that the collections are uneven, and scholars are forced to have recourse to numerous repositories rather than being able to find all materials in one place. Adequate funds for the care and preservation, cataloging, and repair of the papers are lacking in most instances. What is accomplished in these lines is owing to the determination and interest of those in charge of the institutions. Everywhere the papers are subject to certain hazards. Lack of fireproof buildings has been mentioned although this danger is not as great as one would expect owing to the fact that smoking is universally prohibited and heating is not necessary in most places. The effects of tropical and subtropical climates and the ravages of insects are matters which have to receive constant attention. Finally there is that general lack of interest in old papers which militates against the provision of funds for more adequate care. Scholars generally recognize the value of conserving the record of the past, but the average man of the street or politician

does not readily see the necessity of making large expenditures for keeping a lot of old documents which seemingly are seldom used. Despite these problems it was found that much progress in relation to the archives was being made, and it is believed that, with the growing interest in national history, a solution will be found for them.

Enough has been said to indicate the great value of the records and documents deposited in the several archives visited, which serve for the proper appraisal of the history of the respective countries. Far too much of the history which has been written is of a partisan character, but in view of the increasing number of scientific historians each country can look forward to a more impartial presentation of its history based on the sources deposited in its archive. In conclusion, it is worthy to note that the importance of the proper preservation and administration of the governmental records and papers was fully recognized at the time of the establishment in Argentina of the first American archive. Bernardo Rivadavia in drafting the decree<sup>3</sup> for the signature of Governor Rodríguez wrote:

The conservation of the archives of a country assures without doubt for history the most accurate material and documents relating to it. Moreover, the arrangement and the classification by departments and by subjects of the papers of various offices which carry on the service of an administration contribute both to the rapidity and exactness of the dispatch of business.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

<sup>3</sup>Printed in facsimile in Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, *Memoria correspondiente al año 1924*, pp. 79-80.

## SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM AS A TRANSLATOR

A second article on the translations made by Sir Clements R. Markham may on first thought seem unnecessary, but the extensive use made of the Markham translations by present-day students is leading to an accumulation of errors and makes further attention to Markham justifiable.<sup>1</sup>

In this article the translations made of several of the chief chroniclers are considered.

### FRANCISCO DE XEREZ

The report of Francisco de Xerez, Secretary to Francisco Pizarro, is, in spite of its brevity, one of the most important accounts of the conquest of Peru.<sup>2</sup> The translation is not dependable, as will be seen

<sup>1</sup> N. Andrew N. Clevén, *Readings in Hispanic American History* (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1927), cites Markham translations in his numbers 1, 2, 16, 24, 27, 31 and 35. Among the authors he cites are Garcilaso de la Vega, Cristoval de Molina, Pascual de Andagoya, Francisco de Xerez, Baltasar de Ocampo, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and Pedro de Cieza de León. Philip Ainsworth Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (New York and London, Scribner's, 1931), uses the Markham versions and quotes freely entire pages from the translations. For a discussion of other Markham translations see Bailey W. Diffie, "A Markham Contribution to the *Leyenda Negra*", in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (February 1936), 96-103.

<sup>2</sup> Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relacion de la Conquista del Peru* (Sevilla, 1534). Xerez's account has gone through many editions. For this article comparisons have been made with the reprint given in Enrique de Vedia, *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias*, in the "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles", volume XXVI; and with Andres González Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* (3 v. Madrid, 1749), III, used by Markham. For an excellent history of the Xerez account see Alexander Pogo, "Early Editions and Translations of Xerez: Verdadera relacion de la Conquista del Peru", in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXX (1936, Part One). Pogo points out, and this is verified by a note in the handwriting of Harrissee, that the New York Public Library copy of Xerez is the "only known copy of the first printing of the first edition of the *Verdadera relacion*" (p. 58); and also that Markham used the González Barcia text which was taken from the first printing of the first edition, but with changes, some of them "profound enough to affect the meaning" (p. 76). Markham, however, let it be thought that he used the first edition, a thing hardly possible. The text printed by Vedia is also unreliable, being full of "mutilations of the original text" (p. 80). In every

immediately when the reader compares it with the original Spanish version. Markham frequently renders numbers incorrectly. Where Xerez wrote "*mil y trecientos hombres*"<sup>2</sup> Markham says "fifteen hundred men" with Pedrarias;<sup>3</sup> where the Spanish text states that Chilicuchima, Atahualpa's general, conquered "*seiscientas leguas de tierra*", Markham has "two hundred leagues of country";<sup>4</sup> and again, *trece Dias del mes de Maio de 1533* is not the "3rd of May, 1533", the day the ransom of Atahualpa was melted down.<sup>5</sup> The Spanish version says: "*año de mil i quinientos i treinta i tres á cinco dias de Diciembre llegó á esta ciudad de Sevilla la primera destas cuatro naos*", but Markham gives "1534"; and where Xerez says *llegaron otras dos naos*, the English version gives "three".<sup>6</sup>

The following passages give in part the terms under which the labor of the Indians could be used. By a mistranslation of the word *conservación* the meaning is materially changed.<sup>7</sup>

*Original*

... teniendo principalmente respecto a su conservacion como es la voluntad de Su Magestad que se tenga.

*Translation*

... that attention could be given to their conversion in accordance with the desire of his Majesty.

Where Captain de Soto *les dió seguro* (meaning in this case "assurances of safety") to the Indians, the translation says "pacified them";<sup>8</sup> and when the captain wrote to Pizarro *haciéndole saber lo que les había sucedido*, Markham considers this as meaning "with news that he had succeeded".<sup>9</sup> When Hernando Pizarro was returning to Caxamarca with Chilicuchima they passed through the moun-

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case where a quotation is made in the present article its accuracy has been verified by comparing it with the New York Public Library copy of the first edition. The orthography is somewhat modernized and, since the original is almost entirely devoid of punctuation, a few marks inserted. The English is quoted from Clements R. Markham, tr. and ed., *Reports on the Discovery of Peru* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1872).

<sup>2</sup> Markham, p. 2; Vedia, p. 319; Barcia, p. 179; Xerez (1534), fol. A1, recto.

<sup>3</sup> Markham, p. 90; Vedia, p. 342; Barcia, p. 230; Xerez (1534), fol. C5, recto.

<sup>4</sup> Markham, p. 94; Vedia, p. 343; Barcia, p. 232; Xerez (1534), fol. C6, recto.

<sup>5</sup> Markham, pp. 108, 109; Vedia, pp. 345, 346; Barcia, pp. 235, 236; Xerez (1534), fol. C7, verso, C8, recto.

<sup>7</sup> Markham, p. 23; Vedia, p. 324; Barcia, p. 186; Xerez (1534), fol. B2, recto.

<sup>8</sup> Markham, p. 27; Vedia, p. 325; Barcia, p. 188; Xerez (1534), fol. B3, recto.

<sup>9</sup> Markham, p. 27; Vedia, p. 325; Barcia, p. 188; Xerez (1534), fol. B2, verso.



tains that Xerez calls the Tambo mountains where the Indians gave them a feast, as Markham puts it, out of respect, but also because there was present *Chilicuchima, á quien solian hacer fiestas*. Markham omits to translate this last phrase.<sup>10</sup>

Occasionally the incorrect translations have the effect of reversing the meaning of the text.<sup>11</sup>

#### Original

y alli tomaron quince mil pesos de oro y mil y quinientos marcos de plata y muchas piedras de esmeraldas: que por el presente no fueron conocidas ni tenidas por piedras de valor: por esta causa los Españoles las daban y rescataban con los Indios por ropa y otras cosas que los Indios les daban por ellas.

Dijeron que querian ser sus vasallos y por tales los recibió el gobernador con la solemnidad que se requiere.<sup>12</sup>

#### Translation

There they took fifteen thousand *pesos de oro*, fifteen hundred *marcs* of silver, and many emeralds which were not then known as, nor held to be, precious stones. Hence the Spaniards obtained them from the Indians for cloths and other things.

They [the caciques] replied that they desired to be his vassals, and that they would receive the Governor with the solemnity that might be required.

At times, the translator inserts words that do not appear in the Spanish, as in the following case where one of the Indians under torture reported that Atahualpa was awaiting the Spaniards:<sup>13</sup>

#### Original

. . . diciendo que ha de matar a los christianos: lo cual dijo este principal que él lo habia oido.

#### Translation

He also told them that Atabaliba waited in great pride, saying that he would kill the Christians, whom he hated.

In the above example it may be seen that the words "whom he hated" do not appear and that the last sentence of the Spanish text is not translated.

<sup>10</sup> Markham, p. 91; Vedia, p. 342; Barcia, p. 230; Xerez (1534), fol. C5, verso. This is taken from the Estete report which is included in Xerez's account.

<sup>11</sup> Markham, p. 13; Vedia, p. 322; Barcia, p. 182; Xerez (1534), fol. A2, recto.

<sup>12</sup> Markham, p. 20; Vedia, p. 324; Barcia, p. 185; Xerez (1534), fol. B1, verso.

<sup>13</sup> Markham, pp. 33-34; Vedia, p. 327; Barcia, p. 190; Xerez (1534), fol. B3, verso.

## CIEZA DE LEÓN

The translation of *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* has many of the defects found in Markham's version of Xerez.<sup>14</sup>

Cieza got from the Incas their own story of their origins, believed only a part of it, but concludes *en fin, no podemos sacar dellos otra cosa questo*, which Markham renders as "in fine, we cannot get from the story any other solution than this".<sup>15</sup>

Chapter eight opens with a phrase bearing on Cieza's attitude toward his task as historian, but Markham does not translate it.<sup>16</sup>

*Original*

Reídome he de lo que tengo escripto destos indios: yo cuento en mi escriptura lo que ellos á mí contaron por la suya, y antes quito muchas cosas que añido una tan sola.

*Not translated by Markham*

[I have laughed at what I have written of these Indians. I relate in my written account what they told me, yet I have omitted many things rather than add one single thing.]

Few subjects are of more importance than the tribute paid by the Indians. Markham has not given the correct sense of the text with respect to the amount paid by the Indians. A comparison of the following passages demonstrates this.<sup>17</sup>

*Original*

. . . el cual era en algunas partes más que el que dan los españoles en este tiempo; pero con la órden tan grande que se tenia en lo de los Incas, era para no sentirlo la gente, y crecer en multiplicacion. . . .

*Translation*

In some parts it was higher than is paid to the Spaniards at present. But, seeing that the system of the Incas was so perfect, the people did not feel the burden, rather increasing and multiplying in numbers and well being.

In a few places brief passages of Cieza which throw light upon the social and imperial system of the Incas are given empty significance by the translator. For example:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cieza's *Second Part* was published by Márcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú*, escrita por Pedro de Cieza de Leon (Madrid, Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina, 1880); and translated by Clements R. Markham, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Perú* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1883).

<sup>15</sup> Cieza, p. 19; Markham, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Cieza, p. 27; Markham, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Cieza, p. 277; Markham, p. 234.

<sup>18</sup> Cieza, p. 66; Markham, p. 52.

*Original*

. . . y junto los ricos de la comarca, tomó la borla y llamóse Inca. . . .

Or again:<sup>19</sup>

*Original*

Señorio no se tiró á señor natural ninguno, pero sacaronse de los hombres de los valles muchos, poniéndose de los unos en los otros, y para llevar á otras partes para los oficios que dicho se han.

*Translation*

Assembling his principal adherents, he [Atahualpa] then assumed the fringe and took the title of Inca

*Translation*

No native lord received a lordship; but many men were taken out of the valleys and removed to others, or were removed to other parts to perform the duties they understood.

An unwillingness to translate the names of diseases and vices specifically designated by Cieza is also manifest in the translation. In mentioning the disease which swept over Peru and killed Huayna Capac as well as thousands of others, Cieza says clearly *pestilencia de viruelas*, but Markham translates only the "pestilence".<sup>20</sup> In chapter XXV in which the practice of sodomy among certain of the priests is described, Markham says only "the abominable sin".<sup>21</sup>

## GARCILASO DE LA VEGA

The Commentaries of Garcilaso<sup>22</sup> are the most frequently cited of all contemporary accounts of the conquest of Peru and consequently any mistakes in translation assume a correspondingly greater importance.

A vital point regarding Garcilaso's work is the authority of his sources of information, and therefore his trustworthiness as an historian of the events he chronicled. Markham obscures this point instead of clarifying it by his translation, as may be seen by comparing the following paragraphs.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cieza, p. 220; Markham, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> Cieza, p. 260; Markham, p. 221.

<sup>21</sup> Cieza, pp. 98-99; Markham, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega, *Los Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609), Primera Parte. The original edition is very rare and the citations here given are from the edition by Horacio H. Urteaga, ed., in the "Colección de Historiadores Clásicos del Peru" (6 vols., 1918-1919, Lima), I-III. The Urteaga text has been compared with the first edition (New York Public Library copy) and has proved itself faulty in some places. Errors have been corrected in the citations given here. The orthography used here has been modernized in part and some punctuation changes made. The English text is from Clements R. Markham, tr. and ed., *The First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (2 v. London, The Hakluyt Society, 1869-1871).

<sup>23</sup> Urteaga, Bk. I. Ch. III., p. 12; Garcilaso (1609), fol. 3, recto; Markham, I, 23.

*Original*

. . . yo como digo las oí a mis mayores, aunque (como muchacho) con poca atención, que si entonces la tuviera, pudiera ahora escribir otras muchas cosas de grande admiración necesarias en esta historia; diré las que hubiere guardado la memoria, con el dolor de las que ha perdido.

. . . antes la he acortado quintando algunas cosas, que pudieran hacerla odiosa: empero bastará haber sacado el verdadero sentido de ellas, que es lo que conviene a nuestra historia.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the passages which Markham translates badly are useful to an understanding of the social system of Peru. In depicting the method of land allotment Markham has not only mistranslated the passage but has left out of the English version the important phrase, *de lo mejor de la tierra*.<sup>25</sup> The passage reads:

*Original*

A la gente noble como eran los curacas señores de vasallos, les daban las tierras conforme a la familia que tenían de mugeres, y hijos, y concubinas, criados, y criadas. A los Incas que son los de la sangre real, daban al mismo respecto, dondequiera que vivían, de lo mejor de la tierra; y esto era sin la parte comun que todos ellos tenían en la hacienda del Rey, y en la del Sol, como hijos deste y hermanos de aquel.

*Translation*

. . . and I, as I have said, though but a boy, heard them from my elders. Thus, the slight attention I then gave to them, will enable me now to write concerning many events of great importance, which relate to this history.

I have somewhat shortened it, leaving out a few things, but it is sufficient that I have given it its true meaning, which is all that is required for our history.

*Translation*

To the nobility, such as the curacas who were the lords of vassals, were given lands varying in extent according to the number of their wives, children, and servants; and the Yncas of the blood royal received estates in the same way, wherever they desired to live. These estates, however, were in addition to the share that each member of the royal family had in the revenues of the King and of the Sun, as sons of one and brothers of the other.

Other paragraphs shed considerable light on the actualities of the positions in the social and economic system occupied by the poor and the rich. The English rendition is especially unsatisfactory. The following passage treats of the absence of crime among the Inca nobility.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Urteaga, I. XVII. 52; Garcilaso, fol. 16, verso; Markham, I, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Urteaga, V. III. 62; Garcilaso, fol. 102, recto; Markham, II, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Urteaga, II. XV. 120; Markham, I, 155. Citations to the 1609 edition of Garcilaso are dropped hereafter, but in every case the Urteaga text has been compared with the first edition.



*Original*

Tambien les faltaba ocasion para matar, ó herir a nadie por via de venganza, ó enojo, porque nadie les podía ofender, antes eran adorados en segundo lugar despues de la persona Real, y si alguno por gran señor que fuese, enojase algún Inca, era hacer sacrilegio, y ofender la misma persona Real; por lo cual era castigado muy gravamente.

*Translation*

They likewise had no temptation to kill or wound anyone either for revenge, or in passion; for no one ever offended them. On the contrary, they received adoration only second to that offered to the royal person; and if any one, how high soever his rank, had enraged any Ynca it would have been looked upon as a sacrilege, and very severely punished.

Compare the original and the translation in the following significant statement regarding the medical attention received by the poor.<sup>27</sup>

*Original*

La gente comun y pobre se habia en sus enfermedades poco menos que bestias.

*Translation*

The poor people treated diseases in a way differing little from the conduct of beasts.

The following paragraph treating irrigation is also important because of the mistranslation of the phrase, *porque entre los Indios no hubiese rencilla*.<sup>28</sup>

*Original*

En las tierras donde alcanzaban poca agua para regar, la daban por su órden y medida (como todas las demás cosas que se repartían) porque entre los Indios no hubiese rencilla sobre el tomarla: y esto se hacía en los años escasos de lluvias, cuando la necesidad era mayor. Medían el agua. . . .

*Translation*

In the districts where only limited supplies of water for irrigation were procurable, it was distributed by fixed rule and measurement (like everything else they supplied to the people), for there were no disputes among the Indians on these matters. In the years when there was little rain, the water was supplied by the State. The quantity was measured.

One of the most frequent statements concerning the Inca system is that it had reached the ideal of enough for everyone and scarcity for none. The passage quoted below is one of the sources on which the statement is based. When the Spanish original and the Markham translation are compared, however, it appears that there is some reason for doubting that the Inca system was as ideal as pictured. The passage occurs in Chapter I of Book VI where Garcilaso describes

<sup>27</sup> Urteaga, II. XXIV. 145; Markham, I, 187.

<sup>28</sup> Urteaga, V. IV. 65; Markham, II, 14. This is one of the passages from Markham quoted by Cleven, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

*La Fabrica y Ornamento de las Casas Reales*. After describing the magnificence of the palaces and way of life of the Inca nobility, Garcilaso says:<sup>29</sup>

*Original*

Esto se usaba entre los ricos, que los pobres, que era la gente comun, en toda cosa tenía escaseza, pero no necesidad.

*Translation*

This was the custom of the rich, for the poor had only sufficient of all things, though no scarcity.

The method of storing grain in Inca Peru has always received considerable attention, and since the Markham version of the so-often-cited Garcilaso description is confusing it seems worthy of notice here. An added reason for calling attention to this passage is that Cleven has included it in his *Readings*.<sup>30</sup> The words *oron* and *pirua* are translated as “granary”, which they are in one sense, but the meaning is ordinarily “hamper” or “basket”, and it is in this sense that the words are used by Garcilaso. His own description demonstrates this. Markham’s translation makes it appear that an *oron* was a large granary with “a passage down the middle”, whereas, in fact, the *orones* (or “baskets”) were placed within the *aposenos* (which in this case is used for granary) against the walls and along the center so as to leave a passage.

Such tragedies of Markham’s translations are relieved now and then by renditions that suggest the possibility that Markham was striving to be humorous. Note the following examples:<sup>31</sup>

*Original*

En la segunda visita sucedió que andando en la provincia de los Chichas, que es lo último del Perú hacia el Mediodía. . . .

*Translation*

During his second visit, while he was travelling in the province of the Chichas, which is the last in Peru, at about noon. . . .

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Como gato por brasas<sup>32</sup>

---

The cat out of arms

---

Y el indio que podía haber un grano de aquel maiz . . . para echarlo en sus orones. . . .<sup>33</sup>

---

The Indian who could obtain a grain of that maize to place in his ears. . . .

<sup>29</sup> Urteaga, VI. I. 135; Markham, II, 100-101. This is one of the passages quoted by Means, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>30</sup> Urteaga, V. V. 66; Markham, II, 15; Cleven, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>31</sup> Urteaga, V. XXVI 123; Markham, II, 8.

<sup>32</sup> Urteaga, IV. I. 3; Markham, I, 291.

<sup>33</sup> Urteaga, III. XXV. 231; Markham, I, 288.

## PEDRO DE SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA

Sarmiento's manuscript was not published until 1906. Markham's translation was issued in 1907.<sup>34</sup>

In order to understand the Sarmiento work better it is necessary to remember that Sarmiento made his investigations at the instigation of Viceroy Toledo, and that it represents the viewpoint adverse to the Incas. Historians who have found the Inca civilization near-ideal have always tended to pooh-pooh Sarmiento as prejudiced and his history as untrustworthy, especially where he points out bad features of the Inca system. Markham was, of course, much nearer Garcilaso than Sarmiento in his views; although as pointed out above, he could have found things uncomplimentary to the Incas if he had cared to look more closely into the Garcilaso account. Markham points out that Sarmiento said many harsh things of the Incas and adds: "hence the constant repetition of such phrases as 'cruel tyranny' and 'usurping tyrant' . . . are so obvious that I have put them in italics within brackets".<sup>35</sup> The original does not contain such brackets, but Markham used them to indicate that he believed no trust could be placed in statements so adversely critical of the Incas.

In his dedication to Philip II, Sarmiento discusses the Las Casas-Sepúlveda dispute and says of the Valladolid junta:<sup>36</sup>

*Original*

Dieron su parecer diciendo que estos ingas, que en estos reinos del Pirú fueron, eran legítimos y verdaderos reyes dellos, y que los particulares curacas eran y son verdaderos señores naturales desta tierra. . . .

*Translation*

. . . they gave it as their opinion that these Incas, who ruled in these kingdoms of Peru, were and are the true and natural lords of that land.

It will be observed in the above quotation Markham failed to translate the words *los particulares curacas*.

Throughout the entire book words and phrases of significance are omitted. The following case will illustrate this.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Segunda Parte de la Historia General llamada Indica*, published by Richard Pietschman as "Geschichte des Inka-reiches", in *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge*. Band VI, Nro. IV. (Berlin, 1906); Clements R. Markham, tr. and ed., *History of the Incas* (Cambridge, The Hakluyt Society, 1907).

<sup>35</sup> Markham, p. XIII, Introduction.

<sup>36</sup> Sarmiento, p. 4; Markham, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Sarmiento, p. 47; Markham, p. 68.

*Original*

Mas no por esto los Alcabiças desmayaron luego, antes con más coraje se tornaron á rehacer, y acometieron á batir por tres partes la Casa del Sol. Mayta Capac [usually accounted 4th Inca] que desto no sabía y estaba ya retirado á su morada, salió á la plaza, adonde trabó una porfiada cuestión con sus enemigos y en fin los desbarató y venció; y hizo guarachico y armóse caballero.

*Not translated by Markham*

[But the Alcabiças were not immediately discouraged by this. On the contrary they again formed and rushed to attack the Casa del Sol on three sides. Mayta Capac, who did not know of this, and had already retired to his dwelling went to the plaza where he entered into an obstinate quarrel with his enemies and at last defeated and conquered them; and underwent the knighthood ceremony.]

Further on Markham omits eleven lines dealing with the escape of Titi Cusi Hualpa from the Ayamarcas.<sup>38</sup>

Inexactness in translating numbers is another Markham characteristic.<sup>39</sup> *Ochocientos y noventa y seis* becomes 890; *novecientos y ochenta y cinco*, 980; and for *ciento y veinte y tres* he writes 103.

The single word *behetría* is translated in several different ways, all changing its true significance somewhat. Markham himself inserts a definition defining it as "a condition of perfect equality without any distinction of rank. Freedom from the subjection of any lord".<sup>40</sup> The word was applied in medieval and modern Spain to populations that were not subject to a particular lord but might form connections with any or none. The lands of medieval Europe that are usually called *allodial* were substantially the same thing. The various ways Markham used the word are illustrated in the citations below where he translates *behetría* first as "private property", then as "inheritances", and finally as "land . . . owned by the people".<sup>41</sup>

*Original*

Mas advierte el letor, que puesto que toda la tierra era behetría en cuanto al dominio de los señores. . . .

Dicho he, como, aunque las poblaciones destas tierras se conservaron y vivieron antiguamente en behetrías. . . .

*Translation*

The reader should note that all the land was private property with reference to any dominion of chiefs. . . .

I have explained how the people of these lands preserved their inheritances and lived on them in ancient times. . . .

<sup>38</sup>Sarmiento, p. 53; Markham, p. 77.

<sup>39</sup>Sarmiento, pp. 48, 50; Markham, pp. 69, 70, 72.

<sup>40</sup>Markham, p. 37, note. 2.

<sup>41</sup>Sarmiento, pp. 30, 32; Markham, pp. 39, 43.



Sabido como en las antiguas edades toda esta tierra era behetría, es necesario decir, como los ingas empezaron su tiranía.

Having explained that in ancient times, all this land was owned by the people, it is necessary to state how the Incas began their tyranny.

In dealing with the institution of the *mitimaes* we find other important errors. In one case the Inca sent out such settlers:<sup>42</sup>

*Original*

... dándoles abundantemente tierras para sembrar, quitándolas á los naturales del tal sitio.

*Translation*

... giving them the land to sow without stint, and removing the natives.

In still another case one of the most famous passages describes methods used by the Inca in settling *mitimaes* on new lands. The following quotations make it clear that the translation of the word *fortalezas* as *fastnesses* change the meaning sufficiently to make what was in reality a military measure appear to be merely the planting of colonies.<sup>43</sup>

*Original*

Señaló personas, que fuesen por todas las provincias, que tenía subjetas, y las tanteasen y marcasen y se las trajesen figurados en modelos de barro al natural. Y así se hizo. Y puestos los modelos y descripciones delante del inga, tanteólas, y considerados llanos y fortalezas, mandó á los visitantes que mirasen bien lo qué! hacía. Y luego empezó á derribar las fortalezas, que le parecía, y á aquellos pobladores mudábalos á sitio llano, y á los del llano pasábalos á las cuchillas y sierras tan lejos unos de otros y cada uno tan lejos de su natural, que no se pudiesen volver á él.

*Translation*

He ordered the visitors to go through all the subdued provinces, with orders to measure and survey them, and to bring him models of the natural features in clay. This was done. The models and reports were brought before the Inca. He examined them and considered the mountainous fastnesses and the plains. He ordered the visitors to look well to what he would do. He then began to demolish the fastnesses and to have their inhabitants moved to plain country, and those of the plains were moved to mountainous regions, so far from each other, and each so far from their native country, that they could not return to it.

Further on in the same account Markham translates the word *fortalezas* as *fortresses*.

A few more examples of mistranslation will be sufficient to dispose of Markham's version of Sarmiento.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Sarmiento, p. 81; Markham, p. 120.

<sup>43</sup> Sarmiento, p. 80; Markham, p. 120.

<sup>44</sup> Sarmiento, pp. 113, 118, 122; Markham, pp. 171, 178, 185.

*Original*

. . . los orejones hallándose nuevos en  
este negocio. . . .

---

Y por esto hizo alto.

---

. . . luego sacaron á los hijos de  
Guayna Capac. . . .

*Translations*

The *orejones*, who had been warned  
of this suspicion. . . .

---

For this he took a higher position.

---

. . . he [Quizquiz] caused the sons of  
Huascar to be brought out. . . .

The examples given in this article do not exhaust the errors. Throughout all of the translations examined mistakes of significance are abundant, and minor errors innumerable. This does not mean that at all times Markham translated incorrectly; but it does mean that the student who uses Markham is likely to fall into error at any minute and that any study done with Markham's translations as the base will have to be revised.

HARRY BERNSTEIN,  
BAILEY W. DIFFIE.

The College of the City of New York.

## BOOK ITEMS

Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History* for 1931 and 1932 were published in 1936 and 1937 respectively, forming Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1931 and Volume III for 1932. In both volumes, Miss Griffin has maintained the high standards set in her first contribution of like character. In both volumes, many titles concern Hispanic America. It is understood that several more volumes are about ready for press. It would be a pity if this work were discontinued for lack of money to carry it on, as this annual volume is eagerly looked for by historical workers. Pp. 329-351 of the volume for 1932 relate to Hispanic America. Other titles are found in the section on America in General (pp. 17-40); and titles relative to the Philippines on pp. 352-353. Other titles will be found in other sections.

The Macmillan Company has issued a second edition of *A Guide to Historical Literature* (New York, 1936, xxviii, 1222, \$3.75). The volume (first issued in 1931) was edited it will be remembered, by George Matthew Dutcher and a main staff of three (see review in this REVIEW, XI, 367-369). Numerous section editors and more than three hundred reviewers aided in the compilation. The volume, first planned at a meeting of the American Historical Association, suffered several almost complete revisions before it was finally published in 1931. That the work has stood the test of use is evident by this second edition. The parts relating to Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, and Hispanic America should be noted carefully by workers in those fields. The critical comments are, as a whole, excellent. It will be long before this volume is superseded, but it is suggested that a companion volume listing and commenting on late materials should be published about 1940 or by 1945.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell's *Some Spanish-American Poets* has gone into its second edition (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. xli, 559. \$1.50). The preface by J. P. W. Crawford is one of the best comments that can be made on this new edition. It is as follows:

In publishing a second edition of Miss Alice Stone Blackwell's *Some Spanish-American Poets*, the University of Pennsylvania Press has asked me to greet a book which is already well known, both in our own country and in Spanish America.

The title shows clearly that Miss Blackwell's interest in poetry is something unacademic, something broader than chronology, schools, movements, and the like. Guided only by an exquisite taste in her selection, she has translated these poems in a masterly way. It is certain that the thinking peoples of the two Americas will better understand one another by Miss Blackwell's admirable versions of Spanish-American poets.

Miss Blackwell has made an excellent selection of poems and in her translation one discovers that she herself is a poet. The student of history should own this volume. Better than most other books about Hispanic America, it gives a clear appreciation of the character and temperament of our southern neighbors. The work contains 207 poems by 89 authors representing 19 countries. Most of these poems were translated into English for the first time by Miss Blackwell, who says of Spanish American poetry in general that it "is like a large garden, full of flowers of every kind and color. Anyone who goes into it can gather a bouquet according to his own taste". Certainly no one can say, after reading this collection, that Miss Blackwell has not pleased the reader's taste.—A. C. W.

Among recent mimeographed publications of the Pan American Union are the following:

- No. 8. Obras existentes en la Biblioteca Colón de la Unión Panamericana sobre Organización de Bibliotecas y Sistemas de Clasificación (Washington, 1937, pp. 16, twenty-five cents).
- No. 17. El Centro de Bibliografía interamericana en la Biblioteca de Colón de la Unión Panamericana (Washington, 1936, pp. 16).
- No. 18. O Centro de Bibliographia interamericana na Bibliotheca de Colombo da União Panamericana (Washington, 1937, pp. 2, 14).
- No. 19. The Center of Inter-American Bibliography of the Columbia Library of the Pan American Union (Washington, 1937).

The Pan American Union has published (February, 1937), as its "Congress and Conference Series" No. 22, *Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, December 1-23, 1936*. This is the report of the proceedings of the conference which was submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union.



*The Truth about Columbus*, by Charles Duff (New York, The Random House, pp. xv, 296, \$3.00) is proof of the age-long interest excited in almost all quarters of the world by the voyages and discoveries of Columbus. In his preface, the author states that he "has relied upon original sources and never upon biographies however well esteemed", and claims to present aspects of the life of Columbus and many facts relating to the discovery of America "which are either wholly ignored or given insufficient attention in existing works". He has given a fresh translation of the Columbus Journal as it appears in Las Casas; and has retranslated and revised existing translations of other materials. The title of the book is somewhat ill chosen, for there is much about Columbus that is still conjecture and may forever remain so. That there is still room for new studies on the great discoverer is evident from the essays of Cecil Jane, who unfortunately died while his second volume of the *Voyages of Columbus* was in press and who brought to his study a highly critical mind. Indeed, Jane is said to have made a stupendous discovery just before his death but this is apparently lost. Notwithstanding that the author is writing the truth about Columbus, he allows his fancy to weave around some of the episodes, as on page 83 where he describes what might have taken place between Columbus and Pinzón. On page 232, he gives the impression that the descendants of the Negroes brought over to Haiti in the early days of the conquest were those who overthrew the French and established the black republic. Again, on pages 266-267, he safely buries Columbus in Seville without mentioning the counter belief that the bones of the discoverer rest in Santo Domingo. The chronological table is good, but his bibliographical list might have been extended somewhat. Apparently, Mr. Duff leans to the belief that Columbus was a Jew, though he does not say so definitely. The volume, although well written, really settles no question about which there has been doubt. On page 49, line 12, the word "earning" is probably a misprint for "learning". There is a rather flippant introduction by Philip Guedalla. An index is lacking.

The Smithsonian Institution of Washington has published as No. 16, Vol. 95 of "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections" *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida* (Nov. 20, 1936; pp. 14 and 12 plates). The original letter was transcribed and translated by Lucy

L. Wenhold of Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the original is given on the plates. The English introduction by Dr. John R. Swanton supplies valuable information relative to the Florida Indians. The document was found in photostat form among the materials sent to the University of North Carolina by Miss Irene A. Wright, who is now connected with the National Archives in Washington. The letter is well translated.

*The Story of the West Florida Rebellion* (1935, pp. 164), by Stanley Clisby Arthur is a reprint of a series of articles published in the "Pictures of the Past" section of the *Saint Francisville* (La.) *Democrat* and is issued from the office of that paper. The volume is documented quite heavily and has several maps. The narratives are set forth in journalistic style. There is no bibliography. I. J. Cox's volume on the rebellion seems not to have been mentioned by name more than once. The matter pertaining to the several flags of the region, together with their reproductions, is good. While most of the material is known, some of the documents were apparently published for the first time by Mr. Arthur; and the author has gone to the files of old newspapers for some of the reports and comments. The volume will probably have a wide local distribution.

Hardly had C. L. Douglas's *Thunder on the Gulf, or the Story of the Texas Navy* (Dallas: The Turner Co., 1936, pp. 128, illus., \$1.50) appeared when a second volume on the same subject was published. It bore the title *The Texas Navy in forgotten Battles and shirtsleeve Diplomacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xvi, 224, illus., \$2.50) and was written by Jim Dan Hill. In some respects the two books are similar except that the first is a popular narrative while Professor Hill's book is a more scholarly account, without, however, neglecting the many exciting episodes incident to his subject. Both rescued these forgotten facts of history from the dark corners and placed them in a new light in an historical setting, appropriate to their importance, in the larger picture of Texas independence. Both have succeeded in writing a new chapter in the history of the relations of Texas with the United States in the years between 1835 and 1845. Dr. Hill has added a valuable bibliography to his work for which scholars will be grateful.—A. C. W.

Many students of history have often asked themselves what part love and romance have played in shaping any given event. So far as the history of Texas is concerned the answer is found, at least in certain instances, in a small book with the title *Romantic Interludes. Love Stories of Texas Heroes* (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1936, pp. viii, 146, illus., \$2.00) by Theresa M. Hunter. With some success the author has dramatized a number of incidents which occurred in a corner of the great historical stage which is the American southwest. No notice of this book can do it justice, but the naming of the actors will indicate the scope of the treatment. They are Sam Houston and Margaret Lea, James Bowie and Ursula de Veramendi, W. B. Travis and Rosanna Cato, Philip Nolan and Fanny Lintot, Jean Lafitte and Madeline Rigaud, Ellis Bean and Candace Midkiff, Eugene Belisle and Angeline, and St. Denis and Marie. More books like this would be widely appreciated.—A. C. W.

All students of the southwest are familiar with the name of J. Frank Dobie. His most recent work bears the title *The Flavor of Texas* (Dallas: Dealey and Lowe, 1936, pp. 287, illus.) It is illustrated by Alexander Hogue. The book shows in a series of short accounts of Texas characters and incidents the spirit of Texas history. It is anecdotal and told with the usual Dobie zest. It is based upon historical memoirs and original narratives and upon a variety of scattered facts mixed with legends. The student of the Spanish southwest can well profit by reading this interesting book.—A. C. W.

Donald M. McNicol has spent forty years among the Indians of the United States and Canada studying first hand their thoughts and attitudes and their reactions to and their opinions of the white race that conquered them. The results of this study he has put into a book entitled *The Amerindians; from Acuera to Sitting Bull, from Donnacona to Big Bear* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1937. Pp. xix, 341. \$2.50). The setting of the account is chiefly the United States and the period covered is from the time of the early Spanish conquerors to the end of the nineteenth century. The panorama depicts a long and losing fight; but the author has attempted to deal impartially with both sides of the question. The book is a supplement to studies on the frontier in American history, and it constitutes a fairly

good synthesis despite the facts that the title of the work may be technically misapplied, that the first chapter is weak, that the bibliography is scant, and that the index is poor.—A. C. W.

In 1930, Grant Foreman's book on Indians and Pioneers was published by the Yale University Press. In 1937, the work was reissued in a revised edition and bore the title *Indians and Pioneers. The story of the American Southwest before 1830* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937, pp. xviii, 300, illus., \$2.50.) Beginning with Spanish and French exploits before the Louisiana Purchase, the author treats the Indians of the region topically emphasizing the impact of the white man upon the red man in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. This conflict was a three-cornered one between the Indians, the Pioneers, and the Soldiers—and the Indians always lost. Like the author's other works this story is good history and good literature. The illustrations, the map, the bibliography, and the index are excellent.—A. C. W.

A sympathetic account of the religious ceremonies, which many consider brutal, practiced by the Penitent Brothers of New Mexico during Lent and Holy Week is given in *Brothers of Light. The Penitentes of the Southwest* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937, pp. 126, illus., \$2.50), by Alice Corbin Henderson, with illustrations by William Penhallow Henderson. The custom here described was introduced into the region by Franciscan priests who came with Juan de Oñate in 1598. Since then the practice has been observed by the descendants of these early settlers. The author asserts that there is no connection whatever with Indian rites since the ceremonies can be traced to Medieval Europe for their origin. Here in all of its details is described the Passion Play as interpreted by the Third Brotherhood of St. Francis. There can be no doubt that many of the practices are revolting to Americans, but there can be no question as to the deep religious sincerity of the participants; and no one need believe more than is contained in this narrative. The book is interestingly written and beautifully illustrated in black and white by the author's husband.—A. C. W.

Since pre-Columbian days the Hopi Indians of the southwest have prayed for rain at intervals. Besides, they have attempted to bring



rain by numerous age-old ceremonies. The story of these methods is told in *Rhythm for Rain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937, pp. xii, 272, illus., \$3.25), by John Louw Nelson, director of research of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. The author lived for eight years among the Indians about whom he writes. During this time he gained their confidence and learned many of their secrets; this book, written in a novelistic style about a Hopi boy named Yeshva, is the result. The account describes Indian life from birth to death. It is based upon myth, legend, and fact, and it deals dramatically with the primitive belief and ritual influencing the Indians' every-day life. Not only is the volume instructive historically and ethnologically, but it gives through the use of many excellent photographs an intimate insight into the contemporary life of the Hopi people.—A. C. W.

A brief book with a long title deals with the southwest. It is: *Historical Heritage of the Lower Rio Grande. A historical record of Spanish exploration, subjugation and colonization of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and the activities of José Escandón, Count of Sierra Gorda together with the development of towns and ranches under Spanish, Mexican and Texas sovereignties, 1747-1848* (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1937, pp. xx, 246, illus., \$3.00). The author is Florence Johnson Scott, and she has pieced together a chronicle of the exploration of the region, the founding of missions, the life of the natives, the granting of land, and the introduction and practice of agriculture in the territory now occupied by parts of four Texas counties in "The Magic Valley". Besides containing lists of original grantees, the book contains old land titles, maps, and charts. Most of the account is based upon materials in the García Collection at the University of Texas and upon materials in Mexico. The bibliography is helpful and the index useful. Mrs. Scott has performed an important service for the student of the southwest.—A. C. W.

In 1936, the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Mexico published in the city of Mexico a pamphlet in English entitled *The Mexican Government in the Presence of social and economic Problems* (pp. 28). This contains four short treatises as follows: Presidential Plan for Incorporation of Federal Territories; Ideology and Work of National Revolutionary Party; Mexico and Spain, and the League of Nations;

and The Agrarian Problem in the Laguna Region. The first item lays down a comprehensive program for the development of the federal territories of Lower California and Quintana Roo.

*Mexico's Attitude in its International Relations: Assertions and Development of Doctrines*, by José Angel Cenicerros (Mexico City, Press of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, 1935), is a small and informing pamphlet of 53 pages. It consists of an address which was delivered by Sr. Cenicerros at the Tenth Seminar of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, in Cuernavaca (July 6, 1935). At this session, Dr. Edward Borchard presided. Pp. 33-53 consist of "Newspaper comment" on the address. The pamphlet is printed in English.

Francisco Naranjo has compiled a *Diccionario Biográfico Revolucionario* (México, D. F., Imprenta Editorial "Cosmos" [1935], pp. 317). The biographies are brief, presenting only the salient facts, and entering into no criticisms or controversies. In this volume are gathered together several hundreds of short, biographical notices. The compiler realizes that his work is neither exhaustive nor definitive; and in order to make his volume more authoritative, requests interested persons to supply names and data and corrections. In addition to the biographical sketches, Sr. Naranjo has added the various "plans" and other documents (pp. 243-303), including the plans of Noria, Tuxtepec, Liberal Party, San Luis Potosí, Ayala, Orozco, Felicista, Guadalupe, Agua Prieta, Hermosilla, and of Vasconcelos. Sr. Naranjo is a member of the Society of Geography and History, secretary of the permanent committee of the geographical, historical, and statistical Dictionary of the Mexican Republic. He has written a number of books and is now collaborating with Sr. Silvino M. González in a "Who's Who in Mexico". The present work is a serious attempt and should be useful on many occasions.

The first centenary of the birth of Pablo Arosemena has been made the occasion of a small publication, *Breviario Cívico: Colección de Sentencias del Doctor Pablo Arosemena*, edited by Mariano Prados, director of the Escuela Mixta de Pocrí (Aguadulce). This was published on September 21, 1936 under the auspices of the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública. The "Sentencias" (pp. 29) are arranged under

the subjects Educación, La Ley, Valor Civil, Triunfo del falso Mérito, Democracia, Orden y Paz, Sufragio, Partidos Políticos, Justicia, Tolerancia, El Tribunal de la Historia, El Arte de Gobernar, Derecho de Secesión, Fraternidad, Ideal Republicano, La Libertad de Prensa, Devoción a la Patria, Resumen de nuestros deberes cívicos.

Travelers to Mexico will do well to examine the *Official Motorists' Guide to Mexico* (Dallas: The Turner Co., 1937, pp. x, 238, illus., plans, maps, \$1.50) by Michael and Virginia Scully. The book is especially good for Americans wishing to travel over the Pan American Highway from Texas to Mexico City. The publication is sponsored by the Mexican Automobile Association and the foreword is written by an official of that organization. The volume begins with a chapter of general information about Mexico. Several chapters thereafter are devoted either to a description of the towns along the route or to the route itself. Later chapters deal with other routes which the traveler may wish to follow in exploring the country. The last chapter is entitled "An Outline of Mexican History". At the end of the book is a list of useful phrases, a good index, and pages for notes made during the trip. The book is convenient in size, well illustrated, and well written.—A. C. W.

Through the *Editorial Revista Católica* of El Paso, Texas, a small pamphlet of 46 pages entitled *México Mártir*, and written by Juan de la Rioja, presents the Catholic viewpoint of late happenings in Mexico. The pamphlet, although ephemeral, has a certain value in that it publishes some of the revolutionary posters that appeared in Mexico and other illustrations. The publication is meant to be an appeal to the people of the United States and to Spanish-speaking peoples.

*La Cirugía en el Anahuac durante la época precortesiana*, by Fernando Ocaranza (Mexico, 1936, pp. 16) was presented by its author to the second national assembly of surgeons. It consists of the following sections: I. Los Dioses de la medicina con advocación particular hacia los padecimientos quirúrgicos, pp. 3-6; II. Fiestas fijas, p. 7; III. Padecimientos quirúrgicos o que ahora llamaríamos así, y manera de curarlos, pp. 11-15; Instrumentos que podrían llamarse quirúrgicos y material para curaciones, p. 16. These are followed on the inside back cover by Índice de Palabras Nahoas y su significado.

The small booklet which was published for the medical body of Mexico by the Midy Laboratories has five illustrations in color, most of them of Indian divinities. In his compilation, Fray Bernardino Sahagún served Ocaranza as guide.

Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. (New York) have published a volume by Larry Barretto entitled *Bright Mexico* (pp. viii, [2], 236, \$2.00). Those about to go to Mexico would do well to read the volume, for it is on the whole accurately and sympathetically written.

A second edition of Dr. Rafael Meza's *Centro América—Campana Nacional de 1885* was published in Guatemala in April, 1935. The author is secretary of the "Gefataría Militar" of Central America. The volume was written as long ago as 1906 and 1907 and relates largely to Justo Rufino Barrios. The book is well illustrated.

Among "Episodios Nacionales" being published in Guatemala is *El Grito de Independencia* (November, 1935, pp. 179) by General Pedro Zamora Castellanos. This work was published under the auspices of the government of the Republic on the occasion of the inauguration of the monument to the most important persons of the Independence, on December 5, 1935. The volume is well illustrated and includes a facsimile of a document of September 15, 1821 relative to independence. The narrative is written in an easy popular style.

The 14th edition of *The South American Handbook* (London: Trade and Travel Publications, Ltd., 1937, pp. 674, illus., plans, maps) has appeared. This almost indispensable reference work contains a wide variety of information on Hispanic America for the layman and the student, and for the business man and the traveler. This new edition contains some 20 more pages of new information—so-called "human interest facts"—than the previous one. With this edition, too, a new service is offered to readers of the handbook, for the publishers promise to supply information through a Free Information Bureau on any subject dealing with Hispanic America. Despite its name the volume deals with all of the countries of Hispanic America, and it is the only guide in any language of such a comprehensive nature. It is therefore of great value to the student of contemporary Hispanic American affairs. It can be purchased in this country from the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York City.—A. C. W.



*South American Adventures* by Alice Curtis Desmond (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. [8], 284, \$2.50) is one of the best travel books of recent years. The author visited and describes Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Venezuela. She was interested enough to acquire a smattering of the history of each region and has made good use of her knowledge. Her descriptions are good and she seems not to have been overburdened with obsessions. Consequently, her narrative does not belittle or damn with faint praise, and one feels that she is sincere and that she is entitled to be called "simpática".

*Apuntes para una Bibliografía militar de México, 1536-1936* (Mexico, 1937, pp. 469, [2]), by Mayor Silvino M. González and Mayor Néstor Herrera Gómez of the Sección de Estudios Militares del Ateneo, is the contribution of the Sección Militar del Ateneo to the first scientific bibliographical congress which was convoked in Mexico to celebrate the fourth centenary of the establishment of the press in Mexico. The 1888 separate titles cited are divided by periods into those of the sixteenth century (six titles), seventeenth century (titles 7-64), eighteenth century (titles 65-173), nineteenth century (titles 174-947), twentieth century (titles 948-1823), an appendix consisting of titles 1824-1847 for the nineteenth century and titles 1848-1888 for the twentieth century. A second part of the appendix consists of unnumbered items (pp. 435-443) under the heading "Bibliografía sobre el servicio militar obligatorio". These latter titles which together are called "un debate interesante", are with scarcely an exception of articles in periodicals of 1933. Among rare exceptions are noted Pamphlet No. 1, published by the "Centro Revolucionario de Estudios Políticos" and an item by Francisco J. Múgica which is possibly a book and is without date. The volume is terminated by an "Indice de autores y traductores". The publication is an admirable piece of work and demonstrates what can be done in class bibliographies.

*Women called Wild* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1937, pp. 317, illus., \$3.00), by Rosita Forbes, relates to women in various regions including parts of Hispanic America.—A. C. W.

*Women under the Southern Cross*, by Margaret Ross Miller (Boston, The Central Committee of the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1935, pp. xiv, 208, \$1.00—paper fifty cents) is "an effort to set forth

samples, here and there, of many diverse but significant features of the life of women in South America as they meet the conditions of today and face the unfoldings of tomorrow". Women in South America are studied under many conditions and in various regions. The work grew out of evangelical missionary efforts. Throughout, the coming of a broader life to women in the southern continent is stressed, and the volume thus has a place in sociological study. There is a good map and a useful though short bibliographical list.

E. Alexander Powell, author of many books, renowned traveler, newspaper correspondent, army officer, has written a new book *Aerial Odyssey* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. ix, 292, \$2.50). The Odyssey covers the Caribbean countries and islands in general and part of Mexico. Mixed with the description are numerous bits of history which as a rule are better than one expects to find in books of this nature; although there are some grievous sins against actuality.

The well known Argentinian scholar, Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, S. J., is the author of an excellent cartographical treatise entitled *Cartografía Jesuítica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, Ltda, 1936, pp. 228). This consists of two parts—the text, described above, and a case containing 51 facsimiles of maps, and plans. In the text are descriptions of 111 maps, the present existence of all of which can not be asserted. The descriptions are adequate, and the maps and plans reproduced are from Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, French, German, and English sources, some of the most renowned mapmakers being represented. They are reproduced in a size sufficient for detailed study. The text of the map descriptions is preceded by a short introduction in which is shown the fecundity in map making of the Jesuit missionaries in all parts of the world where they have carried on their missions. The work is a much needed contribution to the cartography of South America. The volume and facsimiles form No. LXXI of the Publications of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires.

The erudite Argentinian scholar, Ricardo Levene, has published an interesting pamphlet entitled *Ideas sociales directrices de Joaquín V. González* (Buenos Aires, 1935, pp. 74). This is the "Prólogo" of

the "Obras Completas de Joaquín V. González", an edition published by the National University of La Plata. This short treatise consists of the following chapters or sections: Argentinismo y humanismo de Joaquín V. González; Contribución a la historia de las ideas sociales en Argentina; Alberdi y González; Ideas sociales directrices de González: Ensayos sobre la revolución y la religión; Concepto de Patria; Nuestra democracia; El Odio en la historia Argentina; La Paz; La Educación; Sus Ideas viven en el corazón de sus conciudadanos.

Among notable publications from Argentina is the two-volume *Comisión de Bernardino Rivadavia ante España y otras Potencias de Europa* (1814-1820), which was published in Buenos Aires (Imprenta de la Universidad, 1933-1936). These are volumes XXI and XXII of the collection of "Documentos para la Historia Argentina" edited by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras under the directorship of the renowned scholar, Dr. Emilio Ravignani. In Vol. I. is a scholarly introduction by the latter (pp. xiii-xlix) which is excellent for its grasp of essentials and presents an excellent guide to the documents that follow. The first part of the documents consists of "Antecedentes y correspondencia entre el comisionado en Europa, Bernardino Rivadavia, y el Gobierno de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata y de éste con Lord Strangford, Manuel Sarratea, etc.". The second part relates to the "Primera Gestión de Rivadavia en Europa.—Negociado ante la Corte Española". The third part, which opens Vol. II, is "Segunda Gestión de Rivadavia en Europa.—Negociado con los diplomáticos Españoles y las Potencias Europeas. Comunicaciones cambiadas entre el Ministro José García de León y Pizarro y el Duque de San Carlos sobre la Reapertura de las Negociaciones con Rivadavia". The fourth part is "Negociación de Manuel de Sarratea, ante la Corte de España, por intermedio del Conde de Cabarrús, destinada a cruzar la gestión de Rivadavia". The fifth part consists of "Correspondencia de Rivadavia con Manuel J. García y Mariano de Sarratea". The sixth and seventh parts are respectively "Gastos de la Misión de Rivadavia", and "Negociados varios de Rivadavia relativos a inmigración, explotación minera, hombres de ciencia, etc." There are also various appendices. Each volume has a complete table of contents and the second volume a general chronological index. Each volume has also an alphabetical index and an alphabetical index of names of persons. The volumes are meticulously

edited and the documents carefully reproduced. The work throws a flood of light on the working of Rivadavia's mission. The various documents proceed from Argentina and Spain.

No. LXX of the monographic publications of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Argentina is by the well known Argentinian scholar, Fernando Morales Guíñazu and is entitled *Los Corregidores y Subdelegados de Cuyo 1561-1810* (Buenos Aires, 1936, pp. 120). This capital piece of work, presents biographical sketches of 152 corregidores and subdelegates of Cuyo, besides seventeen reproductions of the portraits of some of the most prominent of these men, facsimiles of various signatures, a map of the province of Cuyo, and other materials. The volume should find considerable use among scholars. The preface is by Dr. Emilio Ravignani.

One of the last books written by the Brazilian scholar, Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima was his *D. Miguel no Trono (1828-1833)* (Coimbra, Imprensa de Universidade, 1933, pp. xiv, [1], 304). The work, printed posthumously, is prefaced by the Portuguese litterateur and historian, Fidelino Figueiredo. A short statement by Dr. Oliveira Lima's widow, Senhora Flora de Oliveira Lima, cites a letter written by her husband to Dr. Max Fleiuss. In this, Dr. Oliveira Lima says that he was working steadily on the *reinado* of D. Miguel, which he was dedicating to Dr. Fleiuss. In the volume is included a list of the works of Dr. Oliveira Lima, and another list of writings on himself. There are fourteen chapters, as follows: *Perspectivas de reconhecimento*; *A Situação em Portugal*; *O Reconhecimento pela Espanha e a amnistia*; *O que se passava no Brasil*; *A Missão Santo Amaro e a revolução de 1830*. *A Reviravolta europeia*; *A Abdicação do Imperador*; *D. Pedro na Europa*; *A Situação militar e a situação diplomática*; *Aristocratas e plebeus, militares e diplomatas*; *Interesses internacionais*; *O Plano Napier e a Ocupação de Lisboa*; *A Atitude estrangeira e as circunstâncias nacionais*; *Os Últimos arrancos da luta*; *O Acto final da tragédia e o epílogo constitucional*.

The Commissariado Geral da Exposição do Centenario Farroupilha of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, has published two interesting volumes relative to the exposition of that place. The first is a



*Relatorio apresentado pelo Commissario Geral Major Alberto Bins ao Exmo. Sr. Governador do Estado G<sup>al</sup> J. A. Flores da Cunha* (Porto Alegre, Oficinas Gráficas da Livraria do Globo, 1936, pp. 38 and 44 plates—3 double page, and a number with two half tones). The volume is tastefully arranged, is well printed, and the half tones are excellent. The second volume is a *Catalogo Geral (Official) e Guia do Touriste* (Porto Alegre, 1935, pp. 350). The exposition shows the progress of the Rio Grande do Sul for the century, 1835-1935. Like the first named book, the second is issued under the name of the general commissioner of the exposition, Major Alberto Bins. It consists of guides to various displays in the several pavillions. Largely of an advertising nature, it contains a great deal of useful information.

Dr. Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre, member of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba read a paper entitled "Elogio del Doctor Mario García Kohly" (founder of the Academy) at the solemn session of the night of February 8, 1937. This was published at Havana (Imp. "El Siglo XX" A Muñiz y Hno, pp. 149).

*La Provincia del Paraguay y el Chaco* (La Paz, Lit. e Imp. Unidas, 1937, pp. 288, II), by Antonio Mogro Moreno is an exposition of the right to possession of the Chaco. The author's thesis expressed in his preface is that "colonial Paraguay neither in fact nor in right ever possessed the Chaco. The Paraguayan Province, constituted into an independent republic in 1811, has had, from the time of its creation, as its invariable western boundary, the river from which it took its name". The several chapters of this volume are as follows: Creación de Gobierno del Guayrá; La Angustia Paraguaya; Espadas y Sotanas; "Como en la más viva guerra"; "Hacerles guerra en sus propias tierras por excusar y quitar tan grave perjuicio a las nuestras"; "Dios Nuestro Señor ha permitido por nuestros muchos pecados, quitar el valor a los de esta Provincia"; "Vuestra Majestad sepa que ya no tiene provincia del Paraguay"; and "El fin no es conquistar tierras de infieles sino amparar, defender y conservar las propias"; "Y este daño es irreparable"; "En consecuencia de ser el único remedio de esta provincia la entrada en el pais enemigo": Lodo y Sangre; "Necesito Señor de Redención el Paraguay"; Dos títulos Paraguayos; Intendentes y Cabildantes; Los rastros de los conquistadores; La tesis contraria. The germ of the argument is in the last section.

The Venezuelan historian, Dr. Pedro Manuel Arcaya, for some years minister from Venezuela to the United States, is the author of a small volume entitled *Venezuela y su actual Régimen* (Washington, D. C., 1935, pp. 217). The volume is primarily a defense of the late dictator of Venezuela, General Gómez, and should be read together with the recent volume by Thomas Rourke. Its eight chapters are: El Pasado de Venezuela, Recuerdos de mi Infancia; El Pasado de Venezuela, Recuerdos de mi Juventud; La Mística democrática. Paez y Monagas; Los "Godos" y la Federación; La Obra del General Gómez; Cancelación de la Deuda nacional; Creación y desarrollo de la industria petrolera; La calumniosa leyenda revolucionaria. Dr. Arcaya who has considerable renown as a historian, writes well; but not all will agree with his conclusions in this instance.

## ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS AND REVIEWS

### *In English*

*Agricultural History*.—July, 1937 (Vol. XI, 181-188): Agriculture in Cuba during the second United States intervention, 1906-1909, by David Lockmiller, of the State College of North Carolina.

*American Historical Review*.—July, 1937. Fictitious Biography, by Margaret Castle Schindler.

*American Political Science Review*.—August, 1936: The Cuban Election of 1936, by Russell H. Fitzgibbon and H. Max Heally.

*Books Abroad*, an International Quarterly (University of Oklahoma Press).—Spring (Vol. XI, No. 2): Spain today; whence and whither?, by Rudolph Schevill; The Spanish American Novel declares its independence, by Arturo Usler Pietri; South America's Critic, by Carleton Beals; Perspectives of Mexican Literature, by Xavier Icaza; Spain loses a great Poet, by William Berrien; Recent literary tendencies in Colombia, by Carlos García-Prada; Chile—Publishing Center of the Spanish-speaking world, by Raúl Silva Castro and Willis Knapf Jones; Books in Spanish.

*The Catholic Educational Review*.—October, 1936: The First College in America: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, by Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M.

*The Catholic Historical Review*.—July, 1937 (Vol. XXIII, No. 2): The Colonial Missions in Venezuela, by Mary Watters.

*The Florida Historical Quarterly*.—April, 1937. Early Orange Culture in Florida and the epochal cold of 1835, by T. Frederick Davis; The Panton Papers (continued)—Three Letters to William Panton by Manuel Gayoso de Lemos in 1797, 1798, and 1799. July, 1937: The Expedition of Marcos Delgado from Apalache to the Upper Creek Country in 1686, by Mark F. Boyd; The Public Buildings of Pensacola, 1818 (from Jackson papers, Library of Congress).

*The Harvard Theological Review*.—April, 1937 (Vol. XXX, No. 2): Pope Paul III and the American Indians, by Lewis Hanke (also issued in reprint form).

*Hispanic Review*.—April, 1937 (V, No. 2): An early Peruvian adaptation of Corneille's *Rodogune*, by Irving A. Leonard.

*Journal of Political Economy*.—April, 1937 (Vol. XLV, No. 2): The new Industrialism in Latin America, by George Wythe.

*Journal of Southern History*.—November, 1936 (Vol. II, No. 4): Jackson's Rhea Letter Hoax, by Richard B. Stenberg.

*Mid-America*.—April, 1937: Jesuit Travel to New Spain (1678-1756), by Theodore E. Trentlein; Reviews of Peers, *The Spanish Tragedy*, Rippey, Joel B. Poinsett, and Callcott, *Santa Anna*.

*The Moraga Quarterly*.—Winter, 1936: The Gaucho in Literature, by Madaline W. Nichols.

*The Pacific Historical Review*.—December, 1936 (Vol. V, No. 4): The Loaísa Expedition and the ownership of the Moluccas, by Charles F. Nowell.

*PMLA*.—March 1937 (Vol. LII, No. 1): Mexican Literary Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century, by Jefferson Rea Spell. [This review is one of the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. This article is also printed as a separate.]

*Scientific Monthly*.—June, 1937 (Vol. XLIV, pp. 530-538): The beginning of Hispano-Indian Society in Yucatan, by France V. Scholes.

*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.—January, 1937: The First Newspaper of Texas: Gaceta de Tejas, by Kathryn Garrett.

#### *In Spanish*

*Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico).—Vol. I (No. 1): La Relación de Michoacán: Su Importancia artística, by Manuel Toussaint; Un Ejemplo de Romance de relación en México—El Casamiento del Huilacoche, by Vicente T. Mendoza; La Custodia de Borda, by Rafael García Granados; Francisco Xavier Alegre 1729-1788, by Gabriel Méndez Plancarte; Grabados Mexicanos en madera—siglo XIX; Documentos para la historia de las bellas artes en México (Testamento de Manuel Tolsa, año de 1807); Para la historia de la litografía en México (documents); Libros y Notas.

*Boletín Bibliográfico de la Biblioteca central de la Universidad de San Marcos* (Lima).—May, 1937 (Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2): Algunos documentos de Peralta Bar-nuevo, by Irving A. Leonard.

*Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia*.—January and April, 1936: El Profeta de Panamá y su gran traición, El Tratado del Canal y la Intervención de Bunau Varilla en su confección, by Ernesto J. Castellero R. July and October,



1936: Panamá Base naval de la Empresa Peruana, by Fernando Romero; El convento de San José de Agustinos Recoletos en Panamá la Vieja, by Fray Marcelino Ganuza; Los Virreyes en Panamá, by Héctor Conte Bermúdez; Independencia de la Villa de Los Santos y Natá, by Ernesto J. Nicolas; La Tajada de Sandía (1856), by Ismael Ortega B. January, 1937: Testamento de Pizarro, edited by Raúl Porras Barrenechea; El Convento de los Agustinos Recoletos, by Samuel Lewis; Un Arzobispo Panameño, by Juan Antonio Susto; Los Feos de Venezuela y los de Panamá, by Héctor Conte Bermúdez; Diplomacia Panameña en el Siglo XIX, by Ernesto J. Castellero; Un Patrimonio Comunal, by Isidro A. Beluche; Primera Condecoración nacional: Orden de Vasco Núñez de Balboa (Ley 27 de 28 de Enero de 1937).

*Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno (Guatemala).*—October, 1935 (Vol. 1, No. 1): Relación geográfica del Valle de Goathemala (1740), by Guillermo Martínez de Pereda; *Idem* del Partido de Escuintla (1740), by Alonso Crespo; *Idem* del Partido de Huehuetenango (1740), by José de Olaverreta; *Idem* de la Alcaldía Mayor de Totonicapán (1743) by José Antonio de Aldama; *Idem* de la Alcaldía Mayor de Tegucigalpa (1743), by Baltazar Ortiz de Letona; *Idem* de la Provincia de Costa Rica (1741), by Juan Gemmir de Lleonatt; *Idem* del Partido de Chontales y Sibaco (1740), by Francisco de Posada; El Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de San Salvador, y la Independencia de Centro América (1821); Carta del Pbro. Dr. Matías Delgado, acerca de la situación de algunos Hondureños por los ataques del Gobernador Tinoco (1821); El Ayuntamiento de Matagalpa en la Provincia de Nicaragua, proclama la Independencia de Centro América (1821); El Gobernador de Costa Rica, está dispuesto a sostener los fueros de la Monarquía (1821); El Ayuntamiento de Nicoya avisa que habían circulado los impresos relativos a la Independencia de Centro América; Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. January, 1936 (Vol. I, No. 2): Real Cédula de 7 de Mayo del corriente sobre que se informe del entronque y demás circunstancias de los cuatro hijos de Don Manuel de Alvarado y Guzmán. Y Documentos presentados por el Br. Don Pedro Alvarado y Guzmán uno de ellos, de los que se puso certificación relativa a su continuación, y con testimonio se dió cuenta Oficio de Peñalver (1776); Testimonio de las diligencias hechas en la Curia eclesiástica de Guatemala en orden a las relaciones de los 4 conventos de Religiosas, sugetas al ordinario, sus erecciones, órdenes a que pertenecen, número de Religiosas de que se componen y sus rentas con la comprobación de dichas relaciones (1740); Relación histórica del convento de San Felipe Neri de la ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, by Pbro. Pedro Martínez de Molina; Relación histórica del Colegio de Misioneros de Cristo Crucificado de la Ciudad de Guatemala, by Fray Antonio de Andrade; *Idem* del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús, by Fray Manuel Herrera; *Idem* del Convento y Hospital de convalecientes de Nuestra Señora de Bethlen de Guatemala; *Idem* del Convento y Hospital de Nuestra Señora Santa Catalina Mártir de la Ciudad de León Nicaragua, by Fray Juan de Ledesma (1740); Juramento en Zacatecoluca; Circular que el Jefe Político Superior del Estado de Guatemala, remitió a los Miembros de la Comisión preparatoria del congreso del Estado de Guatemala; Índice de las órdenes expedidas por la primera asamblea constituyente del Estado de Guatemala desde el 15 de sep-

tiembre de 1824, hasta el 12 de noviembre de 1825;; Expedición de Omoa y rendición del Castillo; Memorias de Morazán o apuntes por él mismo hasta la toma de la Plaza de Guatemala; Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. April, 1936 (Vol. I, No. 3): Plano del Obispado de Chiapa, de los pueblos, parajes y sitios que en él hay, formado por el Ilmo. y Rno. Sor Maestro Dn. Fr. Joseph Cubero Ramfres de Arellano, del consejo de S. M. y Obispo de este Obispado (1748); Testimonio de la consulta hecha al superior Gobierno de Goathemala por el R. P. Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, comisiario apostólico de los colegios de Propaganda Fide, y Visitador de la de Cristo Crucificado de aquel Reyno, sobre el estado y sucesos de las tres conquistas que tiene a su cargo en las provincias de Comayagua, Matagalpa y Thalamanca, providencias que se dieron en junta de real hacienda para su consecusión y aumento (1768); Autos hechos en virtud de la real cédula de su magestad, en que se ordena a este superior gobierno, que serciorado del estado en que se hallan las reducciones de Indios de la provincia del Petén, aplique los medios correspondientes para que se saquen de los montes los Indios que se han huido, y retirado a ellos, y que se agreguen a los Pueblos que han desamparado, solicitando tambien todos aquellos que permanecen en la gentilidad (1754); Testimonio y certificados de la que contra Don Miguel Delgado obra en los autos instruidos a Pedro Pablo Castillo, y cómplices por la insurrección del 24 de enero (1814); Cuadros que detallan los trabajos efectuados en el archivo general del Gobierno, desde el 2 de septiembre al 31 de diciembre de 1935; Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. July, 1936 (Vol. I, No. 4): Servicios de Jorge de Alvarado Alonso de Estrada y del adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, tío del dicho Don Juan de Alvarado y abuelo de su mujer y legitimación de su padre y abuelos del dicho Don Juan (1584); Autos instruidos en virtud de consulta en que dió cuenta al Superior Gobierno de este Reino, Don Joseph Joaquín de Nava, gobernador y comandante de la Provincia de Costa Rica, sobre la salida que hicieron tres Capitanes de la Nación de los Mosquitos llamados Yasparal, Yani y Versa y capitulaciones que trató dicho gobernador con los referidos capitanes (1769); Fundación de una Cátedra en el colegio seminario de la ciudad de Comayagua; Exposición presentada a las cortes por los diputados de Ultramar en la sesión de 25 de junio de 1821, sobre el estado actual de las provincias de que eran representantes, y medios convenientes para su definitiva pacificación reducida por encargo de los mismos diputados por D. Lucas Alamán y D. José Mariano Michelena; Dictámen presentado a las cortes de Cádiz, por la comisión especial de Ultramar, en 24 de junio de 1821, relativo al estado político de la América Septentrional, by Conde de Toreno; Acta del Ayuntamiento constitucional de Metapán; Juramento de la independencia en el fuerte de San Carlos; El Coronel Crisanto Sacasa, comunica el juramento de independencia por el batallón a su mando; El Coronel Sacasa comunica el estado político de Granada; Comayagua. El Alcalde 1o. de Sensenti, Don Cornelio Ballesteros, comunicando el estado y conducta de dicha provincia con respecto a este Pueblo (1821); Nuestra independencia absoluta; Tres documentos importantes acerca de nuestra independencia absoluta; Índice de las órdenes expedidas por la primera asamblea constituyente del estado de Guatemala, desde el 15 de septiembre de 1824, hasta el 12 de noviembre de 1825; Cartas del General Francisco Morazán, escritas en el

año de 1838; Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. October, 1936 (Vol. II, No. 1): Título de encomienda a varios descendientes de conquistadores y pobladores antiguos del Reyno de Guatemala; Pueblos pertenecientes a la Prova. de San Miguel en los cuales el frusto de maíz es muy corta cantidad; Sobre el cumplimiento de la real cédula, o tomo regio de 21 de agosto de 1769 para la formación de concilios provinciales y diocesanos en estos dominios de América (1770); Competencia sucitada por el real acuerdo a este superior gobierno sobre tocarle la declaración del tratamiento de Señor hecho al Dr. Dn. José de Flores, como médico honorario de Cámara de su Magestad (1779); Don Gabino Gainza pone en conocimiento de Iturbide la proclamación de la independencia de Centro América, adjuntándole copia del acta del 15 de septiembre; Sobre que se cobre un tanto por ciento a los caudales que en oro y plata extraen los europeos que regresan a la península (1821); El Jefe Político superior, Don Gavino Gainza pone en conocimiento de los ayuntamientos del Reino el oficio de Don Agustín de Iturbide, de fecha 19 de octubre de 1821; Manifiesto que el capitán general de las provincias del ex-Reino de Guatemala, publicó con motivo de la promulgación del acta de 5 de enero de 1822; Decreto de 29 de marzo de 1823, promulgado por el Brigadier Vicente Filisola, mandando dar cumplimiento al artículo 2o del acta del 15 de septiembre de 1821; Dictámen que la comisión nombrada por la junta preparatoria del congreso, presentado acerca de la independencia absoluta; Bases de la constitución federal; Constitución de la República federal de Centro América 1824; Índice de las órdenes expedidas por la primera asamblea constituyente del estado de Guatemala, desde el 15 de septiembre de 1824, hasta el 12 de noviembre de 1825; Cartas del General Francisco Morazán escritas en 1838; Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. January, 1937 (Vol. II, No. 2): Reducción de los Lacandones; Méritos y servicios de Don Juan Estrada y Medinilla; El presbítero Doctor Tomás Ruiz solicita que se le aplique la real cédula del indulto; Fr. José Victor Castrillo sobre que se le conceda licencia para poder celebrar, y asistir a los actos de comunidad en la próxima Pascua solamente en lo interior de los claustros, cuando no haya lugar, a lo demás que solicita (1818); Plan que el Dr. Don Pedro Molina formuló para organizar el Real Colegio de Cirugía; Índice de las órdenes expedidas por la primera asamblea constituyente de estado de Guatemala, desde el 15 de septiembre de 1824, hasta el 12 de noviembre de 1825; Primera constitución del estado de Guatemala; La proposición de los ciudadanos Salazar, Montúfar, Pavón, Güell, Sánchez y Rosales, para que el Senado remita copia del dictámen que presentó el Senador ciudadano Hernández en que vierte expresiones injuriosas a los altos poderes de la República (1825); Efímero gobierno de Don José Jerónimo Zelaya; Cartas del General Francisco Morazán (1838); Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno. April, 1937 (Vol. II, No. 3): Nuevos fondos documentales; Autos formados sobre la real cédula, para que esta real audiencia con la brevedad y reserva posible remita una relación individual de los corregimientos y alcaldías mayores de este Reyno (1763); Superior Gobierno.—Contra Don Juan de Dios Mayorga, vecino del pueblo de Metapán, por sedicioso (1812); Constitución del estado del Salvador (1824); Sobre la conducta que observaron los individuos que compusieron la



asamblea intrusa, en el tiempo que estuvieron en ella (1829); Índice de los documentos existentes en el Archivo General del Gobierno.

*Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas* (Guayaquil, Ecuador).—Tomo IV, Nos. IV, V, and VI: Necrología del Profesor Gustavo Lemos R., by Carlos Matamoros Jara; Don Vicente Rocafuerte, by Efraín Camacho; La Familia de Rocafuerte, by Pedro Robles y Chambers; Documentos de la época colonial; Escritoras Ecuatorianas, by Víctor Manuel Rendón; Apuntes para la historia de la diócesis de Guayaquil, by José María Navarro Jijón; Una Carta histórica de García Moreno, by Ismael Pérez Pazmiño; Contribución para el estudio de la sociedad colonial de la antigua Gobernación de Guayaquil, by Pedro Robles y Chambers; Hojas militares de próceres; Recepción pública del Señor Jorge Pérez Concha; Los Garaicoa, by Pedro Robles y Chambers; Bicentenario de una Comisión científica, by Carlos Matamoros Jara; Los Presidentes del Ecuador, by Carlos A. Rolando; Comunicaciones oficiales importantes; Notas bibliográficas, by Juan Antonio Alminate; Inserciones, address by Carlos Alberto Flores before the corpse of Gonzalo Lloria.

*La Literatura Argentina* (Buenos Aires).—September, 1936: Belisario Roldán, by Manuel Agromayor. October, 1936: Alejandro Kom. December, 1936: Héctor Florencio Varela; Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Premio Nobel de la paz. As usual each issue carries excellent bibliographical notes.

*Revista Bimestre Cubana* (Havana).—July-August, 1936: Literatura de color, by Guillermo de Torre; La Luna en la poesía negra, by Francisco C. Bedriñana; La América Latina presta atención al Negro, by Richard Pattee; El aporte Negro en las letras de Cuba en el siglo XIX, by José A. Fernández de Castro; Jean Jacques Desalines, fundador de Haití, by Richard Pattee; Juan Gualberto Gómez, by Salvador García Agüero; El Pintor Alberto Peña y su obra, by Enrique Andreu; Un comentario final, by Salvador García Agüero; Dos Centenarios: Harvard y el Azúcar en Cuba, by Enrique J. Montonlieu y de la Torre. September-December, 1936: Erasmo, un modernista que vivió hace cuatro siglos, by Preserved Smith; Orientaciones de la nueva lírica, by Antonio Martínez Bello; Exhortación al opticismo, by José Antonio Ramos; El mito de Rowan, by Enrique de Tovar y R.; Contraste económico de azúcar y el tabaco, by Fernando Ortiz; Combate de Punta Pilón, by Jorge Juárez Cano; La Base legal de la intervención de los Estados Unidos, by David A. Lockmiller; Haití y los Haitianos, by Dantes Bellegarde; Proyectos de reglamento de la escuela preparatoria para el ingreso en la escuela técnica industrial, by Candido Hoyos; Estatutos y manifiesta de la Sociedad de Estudios Afro-Cubanos. January-February, 1937: A la memoria de un maestro de maestros en el centenario de su muerte Presbítero José Agustín Caballero, by Raimundo de Castro Bachiller; La Cultura China en síntesis cubana, by Juan Antiga; Esquema de Sociografía Indocubana, by Elías Entralgo; Los Abolicionistas del siglo XVI, by Manuel García Mayo; Los Colonos Yucatecos, by C. D. Corbitt; Influencia del Tabalquero en la trayectoria revolucionario de Cuba, by Gaspar Jorge; El Momento constitucional y la constitución cubana,



by Enrique Gay Calbo; Larra (1837-1937), by José A. Fernández de Castro. March-April, 1937: Palabras sobre Arango y Parreño, by Antonio M. Eligio de la Puente; Resumen de las ideas y medios propuestos para el fomento de la agricultura en la Habana, by Francisco de Arango y Parreño; El Arte de manejar los Libros, by Homero Seris; Índice Hispano-Americano, by Manuel Pedro González; 25 Años de poesía cubana; Derrotero provisional, by Juan Marinello; Bibliografía de Enrique José Varona, by Fermin Peraza y Saransa; El Ideario de Varona en la Filosofía social, by Elías Entralgo.

*Revista Cubana*.—April-June, 1936: Recado sobre políticos y académicos, by Gabriele Mistral; El Sentido del paisaje vernáculo, by Luis Felipe Rodríguez; José Eustasio Rivera, by A. Torres-Rioseco; Armanda Labaica H., by Julieta Carrera; La Niñez de Márquez Sterling, by René Lufriu; Las Artes prácticas en las escuelas públicas, by Roberto Verdagner; En Vueltabago sí hubo civilización taina, by Pedro García Valdés.

*Revista Hispánica Moderna* (Boletín del Instituto de las Españas).—October, 1936 (Año III, No. 1): Pablo Neruda en su extremo imperio, by Concha Meléndez; Pablo Neruda: Bibliografía, by Sidonia C. Rosenbaum; Teresa de la Parra, by Clemencia Miro; Teresa de la Parra: Bibliografía, by S[idonia C.] R[osenbaum]; El Pensamiento político de Ángel Sánchez Rivero, by M. J. Bendrete; Nota sobre las Fechas de Rodó, by William Berrien; Libros nuevos; Bibliografía Hispanoamericana; Notas varias sobre Hispanismo; Álbum de dibujos de Valeriano Bécquer; Actividades del Instituto; Goya en Nueva York.

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